

THE
NORTH BRITON.

VOL. III.



L O N D O N:

Printed by especial appointment for E. SUMPTER,
Bookfeller, in Fleet-street. And,

D U B L I N:

Re-Printed, and sold by the Bookfellers.

MDCCLXIII.

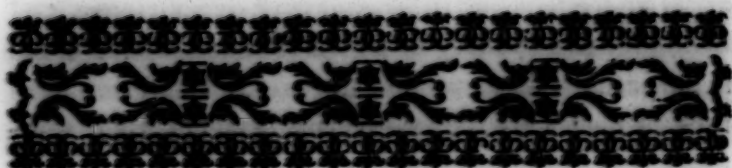
NOTES



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T H E

NORTH BRITON.

N^o 46.

Saturday, MAY 28, 1763.

Male imperatur cum regit vulgus duces.

SEN.

ALL of us who are Revolutioners are fully convinced that men were not made to be treated as if they were the property of any individual, who partakes of the same nature with themselves; that every species of government was intended for the good of the people; that every act of power that has not for its sole end the good of the governed, is absolute tyranny; and that no supreme magistrate can lawfully enforce, by virtue of his authority, regulations inconsistent with the grand aim of government, the security of property, and the safety of personal liberty.

The Highland chiefs, from their infancy, are taught a very opposite creed. Their vassals and tenants have always groaned under the effects of their despotic principles; the world have been witnesses,

again and again, of their enslaving dispositions; and Scotland, the country in which that destructive breed is perpetually kept up and nurtured, has often been torn to pieces by the ungovernableness of their tempers, and the haughtiness of their politics.

Is it fit that men of such ungenerous principles should ever propagate their unsocial maxims near an English throne; poison an English nobility with notions of preheminance, scarcely harboured in the breast of an arbitrary Pole; and advise a system of politics in a land of freedom, that few persons would venture to promulge, but in the most abject of nations?

Men originally associated themselves under government for their greater security; that they might live in their own habitations unmolested, and enjoy the fruits of their labour undisturbed. As in law, so in reason, every man's house should be most religiously regarded as his sanctuary; impervious to every eye, and impenetrable to every foot, that he does not previously invite.

What then shall we say of an extension of those laws that throw open our doors to strangers and to ruffians, and subject us to be disturbed at any hour of the night, which malice or caprice shall direct? Laws whereby our industry is manacled, our families are alarmed, our minds disquieted, our secrets exposed, and our property withdrawn.

But when we consider by whom this oppressive measure was formed, by whose counsel these fetters have been forged, and by whose advice these chains have been rivetted, What tongue can express our griefs! what language speak our painful reflections.

Are

Are we still to be trod on (I here write to those who view the late resignation in its proper light) by a man who despises popularity? Are we yet to bend the neck to one who insolently contemns the universal sentiments of a free People? And are we longer to submit to the yoke of a Scotchman, who exults in his being allied to our natural Rival, claims it as his chief glory that he is a kinsman of the Grand Monarque, and boasts in his arms (Kings come of us not we of Kings) that that family derives its origin from his, which for so many centuries pillaged and oppressed this nation? A family, in whose favour two most unnatural Rebellions have been raised against our lawful Sovereigns; and which were not suppressed but with deluges of English blood!

We cannot have forgot how Scotland was formerly harrassed and tormented by the connections between her nobility and the court of France; that, by these alliances, a door was opened for the entrance of the French forces into that kingdom; that attempts were made by them to enslave the terrified Scots to the arbitrary Will of the reigning Stuarts; and that thereby England itself was oftentimes greatly alarmed and disturbed.

During the hated series of years in which the Stuarts sat on the throne of this realm, what numberless Englishmen were sacrificed to their ambitious and despotic Projects! Who then can bear, with temper, the name of Stuart, when connected with that of Power? is there an Englishman that can abjectly debase himself to the tool of a Scot? meanly content himself with the shadow of office, while the other possesses the substance? poorly seem to act of himself, whilst the other in private directs and commands

mands his every movement? Surely there can be no such character! If, however, it is possible a reptile like this exists, read, thou wretch! read and blush.

The French are absolutely making warlike preparations by sea and by land; our soldiers are enlisting in incredible numbers in their service; and our sailors are swarming aboard their navy in crouds,—this may be depended upon.—On the contrary,—at home our rights have been insulted, the house of a member of parliament broke open, his writings seized, his person imprisoned, his privileges violated. What may be the consequence of the present discontents, it is impossible to tell! France is not more notorious for her perfidy than her politics—if the latter prompt her to avail herself of our dissensions, she will not scruple to be once again guilty of the former. Think, my countrymen, of these alarming circumstances ere it is too late.—Watch the motions of every Scot, wherever gone, or wherever retreated.—By a careful retrospect to past, and an unwearied observation of every future occurrence, you will be enabled to penetrate whether there is any treasonable connection between the inflammatory movements within doors, and these warlike preparations without. If nothing of this nature appears to exist, we have no reason to doubt the speedy subduing of the first, nor need we be greatly fearful of the hostile intentions of the last. But if, on the contrary, any man should be found, whether Englishman or Scotchman, Commoner or Peer, who is so lost to his duty to his country, and the allegiance he owes to the best and most amiable of Sovereigns (the father not the ruler of his people!) as to secretly aid the designs of our enemies (I should have said our new made friends) let the traitor be dragged forth

to public view, and meet with a punishment, condign as his Treachery deserves.

The desertion of our soldiers and sailors to our enemy was the foreseen effect of the peace. The administration was loudly warned of the danger, yet no sufficient methods of prevention were adopted, though many were offered, and many were practicable. This is one of the blessed effects of the contempt in which popularity and popular informations were held by the arrogant Scot. The question now occurs, How far he is answerable for so great an evil? A mischief that may one day be attended with the worst of consequences! Those to whom this enquiry most properly belongs, will, I hope, with the utmost attention and precision, examine this important question, and vigorously exert such constitutional measures for the obtainment of redress, and the recall of our subjects, as the weighty nature of the case will admit of.

There are many circumstances strongly against the behaviour, though they do not amount to any proof against the integrity, of the minister. If he meant the nation no harm in the late treaty, he certainly acted as if he truly intended it no good. He carried on the great work of peace with incredible rapidity: He gave the nation and the friends of the nation, the most scanty portion of time to consider of, or prevent its dreaded effects. He hurried on the approbation of the preliminaries, and with equal expedition adjusted and determined the definitive treaty. All was carried on in the most lofty manner, and the utmost contempt thrown on every modest inquirer; as if this State Arcanum had been some awful mystery,

tery, improper to be exposed to the unhallowed eyes of a free people.

What have been the effects of this peace? each misfortune that was foretold has happened as fast as it could be brought forth. France has got numbers of our men; multiplied excises distract our people; and the heavy load of national debt (which a retention of our conquests might have enabled us to discharge) drives us almost to despair. Grief produces expressions of sorrow; these expressions are construed into seditious murmurs; and informations and indictments are amongst the comforts of peace now presented to us.

How quick has been the transition which this nation has made from honour to dishonour! From a glorious war to an inadequate peace! A peace that goes hand in hand with an excise, which unhinges the gates of our houses, and throws open the doors of our chambers. A peace that has deprived us of those valiant fellow-subjects who made our enemies tremble; and bestowed on our rivals the very swords which lately were intrepidly pointed at their bosoms. A peace which has been succeeded by the spirit of discord, and may almost be said at present (if I may venture the phrase) to be publicly stalking in armour through our streets.

What, oh England, were thy expeditions against Guadaloupe, Martinico, Cuba, and Manila? Are they not now transformed into amazingly stupendous parades to rob thee of thy wealth, and deprive thee of the bravest of thy people. War and Peace are now equally fatal to England; both equally strip her of her men and her money, for in the strength of the first she accumulates the second. In
time

time of war her sons are destroyed by the sword, and in time of peace the house of Bourbon is suffered to adopt them.

During the war, those feeble tools of a feebler minister, the Auditor and Briton, were directed to trumpet forth to the people that every conquest we achieved, was an additional stab in our own vitals, a misfortune to the human race, and an obstacle to the peace of Europe : And lest the expeditions then on the anvil, should unfortunately have afforded an increase of those obstacles, a pence was patched up with the utmost precipitancy, and thereby those conquests prevented which might have demanded more advantageous stipulations in favour of England. By this inconsiderate step (to speak of it in terms in which neither the tools nor the opposers of the ministry will join me) our enemies have gained time to breathe, replenish their coffers, repair their marine, disaffiliate our sailors and our soldiers, and fight us at last with our own men.

There is nothing more amiable than a readiness to acknowledge an error : great as the compliment is, I may now pay that compliment to myself. I have not only in the foregoing paragraph, but in several former papers, arraigned the ministerial writers and defenders for calling our victories misfortunes. I am this moment convinced of my mistake. It is notorious, and every true born Englishman must feel it most sensibly at this instant, that our conquests were not purchased but with an immense effusion of blood and of treasure ; and as every conquest we acquired since that seeming paradoxical assertion was promulgated, has been generously restored to our enemies, they may, indeed, in the strictest sense, be termed
our

our misfortunes, and so many desperate stabs in our vitals. Having done this justice to my opponents, I shall proceed.

The ships now on the stocks in Brest and Toulon, though pretended for commercial purposes, must be considered, by every lover of this country, as really intended for hostile ones. They considerably exceed in bulk those that are generally used for the service of the merchants; they are built infinitely stronger and dearer than the profits of the latter will afford; and it is evidently manifest, from their form, that they will allow to be bored for sixty gun ships. All the docks and yards in France are thus fully employed, and, I am sorry to say it, the best of their workmen (and those not a few) are English shipwrights. What comment is to be made on these glaring facts? What lesson are we thence to learn? Ought I to conceal from my fellow subjects such interesting intelligence? Ought I, in compliment to any Scotchman living, leave such dangerous proceedings untold? No. Such a concealment would be nothing less than a treasonable silence.

Let us not imagine that it is possible for France ever to mean us well. I know it has been advanced that during the distractions which tore us in the reign of James the second, the then French king generously offered the assistance of all his forces. True; he did so.—But for what end?—Not in defence of the people, who were nobly struggling for liberty, but in support of the oppressive measures of a despotic monarch and an arbitrary ministry. Had their design taken place, we had not, in all human probability, now been a free people; the glorious revolution which brought in our deliverers, William and
Mary,

Mary, and by that means the august house of Brunswick, which adorns the throne of England, might have been prevented; and we had this day, perhaps, groaned in slavery, under the tyrannic oppression of a Regal Stuart.

Does France, by such a levy of armaments in the midst of our internal divisions, mean to renew the same most generous [*insidious*] offer? Let her be told the difference of our situations. The monarch at that time was trampling on the liberties of the people, and taking extensive strides to despotic power: The monarch at this time would much rather add to our freedom, than extend his prerogative. The king at that time was hated and despised: The king at this time is beloved and adored. The opposition was at that time not against the minister alone, but the throne itself: The opposition is at this time against the minister only.

But whatever may be the intentions of France, I doubt not but the patriotic minority which now carefully eyes the movements of our foreign, and the machinations of our intestine foes, will continue to exert the same glorious spirit of patriotism, and thereby prevent every disagreeable consequence which might otherwise ensue. Our internal dissensions must naturally subside; and the publick affairs be conducted by such hands, as the public would most rejoice to trust them in.

N^o 47.

Saturday, JUNE 4.

*'Tis not my talent to conceal my thought,
Or carry smiles and sunshine in my face,
When discontent sits heavy at my heart.
I have not yet so much the Scotchman in me.*

ADDISON.

THE present peace is extolled by the tools of the Scottish minister as the most advantageous, and honourable to the crown of Great Britain, ever yet concluded. That it is the most advantageous, I will very readily agree; but that it is the most honourable, I cannot quite be Scotchman enough to assent to. At the commencement of, and during the negotiations for peace, England was in a far more glorious and triumphant situation than she had ever experienced before; that she should therefore stipulate advantages greatly exceeding those obtained by any preceding treaty, does by no means prove the late to be an honourable peace. The question is reduced to a small compass—Are the cessions to Great Britain adequate to her successes?—I believe the wretched negotiators themselves are, by this time, if they were not before, too fully convinced of the contrary, to venture at an answer in the affirmative. It is plain, then, that all the cry raised by the ministerial hounds, to prove it an advantageous peace, by no means demonstrates it to be an honourable one.

I would, however, ask Lord Bute one question. If he really believes this to be both an advantageous and an honourable peace, does he not think every reasonable

reasonable recompence is due to those whose bravery was the means of procuring it? None but an unenlightened, an unhumanized mind—or—in other words—none but a Highland chieftain, strongly cherishing the arbitrary and cruel principle that their inferiors were born to be their slaves, and that the condescension of employing them more than amply repays the most important of their services, can possibly answer me No. As to his Lordship, he, I am certain, will, because he must, reply in the affirmative.

I must next desire to know (for I find myself to-day in a very interrogative mood) if such care has been taken of our soldiers and our seamen (Scotchmen excepted) as the law of gratitude requires? A man need be no conjurer in politics, or in public measures, to be a Respondent here.—NO—NO—will echo from every English tongue. To speak the truth, our brave defenders—let me go farther—our glorious conquerors, have been so universally ill used (to say no worse of the matter) that I scarce know where, or with whom of them to begin, to enumerate their sufferings. I shall however exert the PRIVILEGE of a free-born Briton, and by virtue of his most inestimable jewel, THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, lay some facts before the eyes of the Scottish minister, and my fellow-subjects in general, as loudly call for redress.

That the Marines are a very brave and useful body of men, their behaviour, in the late war has amply testified. Every person who was present at the reduction of Belleisle can best speak the merits of this deserving corps. The mal-treatment they have, nevertheless, met with, is almost inconceivable; and,
left

lest the measure of their grief should not be full, their most humble remonstrances have lately been branded with the hated epithet of mutinous.

Upon the first establishment of the Marine Forces, at the commencement of the late war, as if inly warned by their good genius, a most astonishing backwardness appeared in all the officers to take up their commissions. This produced a public advertisement, in which they were desired to repair to their respective quarters, and the most solemn assurances given them that they should enjoy every indulgence, advantage and encouragement, that was, or should be, granted to any part of his Majesty's Land Forces. It now remains to enquire how far these promises have been fulfilled.

The first step taken was, the appointing Mr. Adair, by the Board of Admiralty, Agent to the three Divisions, with an allowance of five per Cent. This was an useful regulation, and the appointment was highly approved. But, for Heaven's sake, where was the necessity, afterwards, of obliging the officers to nominate private agents, and thereby laying upon them an excise of two and a half per Cent more? I should be glad to know whether some complaint was not made against this imposition [I hope pensioner Johnson will not in this, as in another case, be sent for to verbally explain this word] and whether the answer returned, was not, "If the officers do not chuse to receive their pay at this discount, they may quit the service?"

Things, however, thus regulated, one should have supposed that the utmost precision would have been duly observed. Was this the case? Were any officers bills negligently suffered (for I will not think worse

worse of it) to be protested, to their very great injury, when they had a right to draw for much larger sums? Did not this accident (it surely was but an accident) in particular happen to Captain Graham and to Lieutenant Hornby?

About two years ago, the then Lords of the Admiralty, represented to his Majesty, that it was absolutely necessary there should be Colonels appointed for the better disciplining of the Marines. I shall not insist (as an argument against this representation) upon there being no more than fifty men, at that time, at all the divisions; for the step might nevertheless be necessary. What appears to me the most extraordinary is, that they should recommend Sir Piercy Brett, Lord Viscount Howe, and the Hon. Mr. Keppel, to the Colonelships. It is true, these gentlemen have approved themselves open, generous, valiant; deserving of every trust that has been, or may be, reposed in them; but at the time of their appointment, I believe, they were not only abroad, but had scarcely (if ever) seen a marine under arms at quarters. What crime had all the old experienced officers, the lieutenant-colonels and majors of the marines, committed, that they were thus deprived of all hopes of future preferment? Lost to Ambition, that soul-cheering balsam, which stimulates a soldier to encounter the dangers of war, and supports him amidst all its fatigues!

The patriotic minister, Mr. Pitt, had resolved to do something for the officers of this much deserving corps (to whose services he was no stranger) but the important negotiation, with Mr. Buffy, intervening, and his removal from power succeeding, utterly prevented it.

Now let us see what has been done for them in the upright administration of the Scot. To stop the complaints of the oldest captains who were the eldest too in the service of his Majesty, and almost all of them wounded) they were last year generously complimented with majors commissions, **WITHOUT PAY**; and now, O wonderful indulgence! O admirable justice! They are left at liberty to retire upon captain's half-pay, or accept the command of a company again. The captains have not experienced a single emolument more than their bare pay; not even the perquisites of companies; which have been swallowed up by ———.

No less degree of despotism has been extended to the subalterns. What reward has been given to the eldest first-lieutenants, for their long and faithful services? These gentlemen, during the war, have been constantly on duty abroad; with the utmost fortitude undergone every hardship, and with the most intrepid resolution encountered every danger—These are their services. Instead of promoting them, agreeable to the practice of the army, to the command of those companies which, previous to the signing of the preliminaries of peace, were absolutely vacant; these commissions were reserved for a set of wretches, who had no other qualification to recommend them but the fortunate name of Scotchman, or a lucky connection with those public nuisances called Admiralty Boroughs—These are their rewards!

But, flagrant as these partialities are, let them pass—there was still some room left for recompence. The senior deserving lieutenants might have been required

required with the rank of captains ; this, it is true, would have been no pecuniary emolument to them, as they must have been presently reduced ; but it would have given them precedence (a no small consideration with a soldier) and that precedence acquired them respect. Besides, there was an opening for this reward of rank in another case ; and in one too, where gratitude might have gone, hand in hand, with humanity. The superannuated captains, after a life spent in the service, are now obliged to relinquish their whole, and retire upon half-pay. Are the comforts necessary to support the infirmities of old age rendered more readily attainable, when a moiety of the means to procure them is taken away ? Who were the proposers of this diabolical scheme ? Oh shame where is thy blush ! Not a lieutenant—— I positively affirm this, because I know it, and those in whose power the regulation was, know it too—— Not a lieutenant but would have gladly accepted the rank ; allowed the superannuated their whole pay ; and chearfully done captain's duty on the pay of a subaltern, 'till vacancies occurred in their natural course.

The fate of the second lieutenants depended so much on that of the first, the hardships of the former may be easily gathered from the latter. There is one, however, in which the second lieutenants have been more deeply involved than the first. I mean the recruiting service. For the most part of the war, the officers of the army were allowed ten guineas per man ; some, even more. Those of the Marines, only the OECONOMICAL sum of three pounds ; nevertheless, go they must. If they enlisted any men, they were sure to be ruined, by advancing, beyond their abilities, out of their own pockets.

kets. If they did not enlist any, they were discharged the service with ignominy; bereaved of their reputation, and deprived of their bread.

I come now to the private men of the marines. They were intitled to waistcoats when they first came into the service. I would ask have they ever received any? Are there, or are there not, some thousand suits of cloathing due to them, at this very time? The stoppages from their pay have arisen to high as one shilling and three pence per month, almost a ninth of their whole pay! I should be glad to know to what purposes, and how faithfully, they have been applied? I beg particularly to be informed, whether the monthly stoppages from their pay, for the use of the public colleges of Chelsea and Greenwich, have yet been paid into the hands of the Treasurers?

I shall now reduce what I have remaining to say, on this important subject, to the following

Q U E R I E S.

1st, What is become of the interest of 370,000*l.* due to the private marines, and non-commissioned officers so long ago as May 1758? I hope no man, who is not legally interested therein, has presumed to TOUCH IT.

2d, What has been done with the surplus money arising from the cloathing; amounting. at a medium, to 176,000*l.* [This calculation, I believe will be readily allowed, when it is considered that every serjeant pays 9*l.* per annum for his cloathing, and the utmost value ever set upon that cloathing, as I am well assured, is but 2*l.* 2*s.* The corporals pay 6*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* valued at 1*l.* 1*s.* The private men in proportion.]

3d.

3d. Has any advantage ever been made, and by whom, by the custom of keeping commissions vacant, for eight, ten, nay twelve months?

4th. What is become of the non-effective and contingent money?

5th. Has all the baggage and forage money been paid to the marine officers?

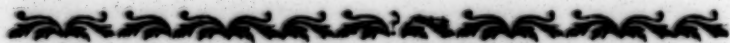
I have the readier undertaken the cause of the marines, as I believe they have performed harder service, this war, than almost any other corps, in the armies where they served. They were the only people employed upon the batteries and posts of honours at Louisbourg and Quebec. Their firmness at Belleisle (where, for some time, they bore almost the whole shock) is too notorious to repeat. And at Guadaloupe and Martinique their behaviour was so truly intrepid, that a late noble lord (who every night diverted himself in St. James's street) gave positive orders to stop the publication of the accounts received at his office, lest (as he was pleased to declare) it should occasion any jealousy in the rest of his majesty's forces.

W.

. I find a notion has been very industriously propagated that the North Briton, printed (now) by my especial appointment for E. Sumpter, is a spurious one. I doubt not but my readers must be, ere this, fully convinced that it is nothing more than the idle suggestion of the wretched tools, of a very wretched administration. Whilst the North Briton continues to exert himself in the service of his country and the cause of the oppressed—to point out the dark machinations of the great ones in power,

and the villany of little ones in office——there will not be wanting interested wretches ready to persecute or insinuate him out of existence. But he despises their utmost malice, and defies their strongest efforts.

† If the Old Officer will leave a line at Mr. Sumpter's with directions where he may be spoken to, something will be undertaken of consequence; and he may absolutely rest assured of the most profound secrecy.

N^o 48.

Saturday, JUNE 11.

Aurea libertas auro pretiosior omni.

OVID.

IT is an incontrovertible maxim, that no government can long subsist that is not strenuously solicitous for the preservation of its own dignity: But, unhappily, men in power do seldom judge with that requisite precision which nicely distinguishes between a just and an arbitrary importance; and the consequent misfortune is, that by an injudicious attempt at the first, the people too often groan under a burthensome exertion of the last.

This is placing despotic proceedings in the most favourable light; but what can be said of those ministers who are wilfully guilty of the most tyrannous Measures, and openly avow the most absolute principles? iniquitous and oppressive governors soon become the detestation of a free people; hatred presently begets contempt, and when once that veneration for their authority which is the true basis of their

their influence in the state, is expired, their power cannot long protect them, but must shortly cease to exist.

To the prince, honour is due from the subject; to the subject, protection from the prince. The duty is reciprocal. A sovereign who neglects the prosperity of his people, will in vain expect the reverence which would otherwise be owing to his exalted situation. How audacious then must those Ministers be, who demand from a nation they have injured, that submissive obedience, which, in the same case, would not be paid to their king?

In many cases, it may be the interest of the ministers to oppress; in some, it is the interest of the people to oppose. Those of the first are too mysterious for me to unravel; that task I leave to the superior penetration of the Earl of Bute: those of the latter are, where some flagrant exertion of an *anti-constitutional* Power has fully convinced them that their property is in danger, or their liberty is precarious: Or, where a constitutional Power has been exercised (as in the instance of an inglorious peace) in a manner highly inconsistent with the public advantage. In either of these cases, but more especially when both of them concur together, it is not only lawful but laudable to contend with ministers who aim at the destruction of our liberties, and to struggle against measures which tend to turn those powers into a national evil, that were created only for a national good. Resistance is there a duty. The safety of a whole nation.—the safety of posterity—every motive that can fire a patriot breast—call upon a people, thus injured, to vindicate the rights of mankind, and transmit to succeeding generations, those
inestimable

ineffimable sentiments of government, which are consistent only with public Liberty.

In situations like these, so fraught with discontent, and so big with danger, there will never be wanting ministerial tools, the hackneyed hirelings of tyranny! ready to preach up the threadbare tenets of Scottish oppression, and sanctify with their venal pens, the worst of Measures, and the worst of Men. Hence arose to view, the Briton; hence crawled into light, the Auditor; and hence is dragged into existence, the Plain Dealer.

The whole Magistratic Power, from the king down to the simple justice of peace, is only parental; and as those alone can merit the name of fathers, who exercise no authority but what is truly parental, so it is in vain for those literary retailers to arrogate to despotic Ministers that claim to submissive obedience, which the interests of society require to be paid only to the good Magistrate; as due to the amiableness of his conduct and the equity of his proceedings. The doctrine which these despicable patrons of slavery would inculcate, is too absurd to be swallowed: we must be methodists in political faith indeed, to believe that the favourites of princes are qualified alone for the guidance of public affairs; or that men the most regarded at court, are always the honestest and wisest in the nation.

Shall we, to gratify the ambition of any butterfly of fortune give our assent where evidence is wanting? Or, contrary to the report of our understanding proclaim our liberties secure, whilst we see a free-born *Englishman*, and a *Member of Parliament*, thrown into prison; upon a vague suggestion that he is the author of—What?—Why, truly of a paper

per which, in the construction of a minister of state, tends to inflame the nation against measures, of whose excellence, forsooth, the *Wise Courtier* is himself sufficiently convinced.—When this, or any similar event occurs, shall we refrain from an examination of every circumstance attendant on a transaction of such importance; or stupidly suppose that every act of Men in Power is just and legal? No such submission is expected in the arbitrary government of the Porte. It is a maxim at Constantinople itself, that cases may exist in which resistance to ministers are lawful. Shall we, then, boast ourselves to be a free people, and yet be afraid to exert a privilege claimed even by a Turk?

The liberty of an Englishman has been taken from him by a verbal warrant; or, which is the same thing, by a warrant that did not express his name, or particularize the offence with which he was charged. Can we call ourselves free, if we are subject to restraint at the discretion of the meanest officer that may be intrusted with the execution of these inexpressive yet all-including warrants? With what propriety can we call ourselves a free people; unless in this paradoxical, Scottish, Frenchified, double meaning sense, that we are free to be trod upon!

However, if we act with the spirit of our ancestors, we have yet nothing to fear. In the reign of Charles the second, Lauderdale, a favourite Scot, who triumphed over English liberties, was hunted from the Royal Presence. Our ancestors had to cope against the favourite of a *Stuart*; of a prince strongly fraught with arbitrary and popish principles; of a monarch who had absolutely planned the slavery of his subjects; yet even that monarch did not preserve his minister against the united efforts of his people.

people. Why then should we be dubious of success under a prince whose character is the very reverse of Charles's? Charles the Second was the dupe of France, and an enemy to the liberties of his country. George the Third is the scourge of the French, and a friend to the freedom of his people. He wants but to be informed, to redress. Let us go on then; let us support that constitution which our ancestors so bravely transmitted to us; and let us carefully surrender the inestimable Deposit, unhurt, to ages. For this purpose let us consider the evil consequences of some late proceedings.

Every trader, every private gentleman, when he has placed his notes, his bonds, his family-writings, his money in his closet, supposes them secure: But what must become of this security, if our most private repositories are liable to be broke open, and rifled at midnight? I will admit, for argument sake, that our gold, even untold, might be safe under the inspection of the noble granters of the warrant; but are we certain that low-born messengers of state are possessed of principles equally just and honourable? Our property may be plundered, and whom shall we accuse? The *plunderers* may be unknown to us; or proof against them, though known, impossible. We may be so uncertain of the damage received, that we cannot swear to its amount, even though reparation were obtainable. Does every man keep an exact inventory of his effects? Certainly, no; or if he did—might not his only evidence, the inventory itself, be *stolen* from him? These proceedings are so unconstitutionally arbitrary, and are big with so many fatal consequences, that none but madmen can argue for the necessity of such despotic steps, in a free state! But what shall we say where one oppression

pression treads closely at the heels of another? Where a seizure of papers is followed by a tyrannical (because illegal) imprisonment of person? *inquisition'd* from the intercourse of friends, and *bastil'd* from the assistance of counsel! This distress, though it be the immediate misfortune of that man only who suffers it, is yet, in its consequences, the real misfortune of the whole Nation. Nay, those who advise and promote such absolute measures, may themselves live to feel and experience their hated effects. Places of power are as fluctuating as the wind, and the man who commands those messengers to day, may himself be hunted down by them to-morrow.

Besides exposing our most secret transactions, interrupting the course of our affairs, and breaking, perhaps, our credit, the mischiefs that may accrue to us on such occasions, by fraud, casualty, and neglect, are innumerable. Can we reasonably suppose that in a free nation, and under a government limited by laws, such a power can be inherent in any office, unless it be expressly granted by statute? So unbounded a power cannot be a part of the ordinary exercise of justice. It is absolutely and manifestly contrary to the known principles of Law, and the plainest dictates of equity, to imprison before a formal accusation is properly exhibited, and to punish before a legal condemnation is obtained.

Arbitrary and illegal imprisonments, have often been condemned in the votes and journals of a house of commons; guarded against by several Laws; and loudly complained of by all ranks of Englishmen. Ask you, what is an arbitrary and what an illegal imprisonment? I will explain the difference. An arbitrary

bitrary imprisonment, then, is a restraint of person imposed at the will and pleasure of one, or more, without their having the sanction of any directing law, which, delegating such power to them, would sufficiently justify the commitment. An illegal imprisonment, is a confinement contrary to the known direction of some absolute standing law; but imposed under the specious pretext that such imprisonment is within the meaning of some existing statute; and perhaps that very one it infringes. In a case like this before us, we must consider these circumstances conjunctively; for in a kingdom, like England, not governed by a despotic monarch, every imprisonment, not warranted by Law, is certainly arbitrary—because illegal.

It is obvious that if any Officer under the crown is possessed of this high power, he must derive this authority from the common or statute Law. Our common law, built on the first principles of equity and simplest reports of reason, can never authorise practices equally inconsistent with both. Magna Charta, and the current of statutes down from thence, provide against every sort of restraint on our Persons and Effects, that is not inflicted by the judgment of our peers, or supported by the law of the land. Where then shall we find a justificative plea for seizing of persons and carrying off of papers, without the sentence of a Court or the authority of Parliament?

The reigns of the Stuarts, in England, are indeed marked with many barbarous examples of this tyrannical nature. James and Charles the First, wantonly imprisoned divers Members of the House of Commons, in different and distant prisons, without assigning any reasons. Nay, some of them, in Charles's time,

les's time, even died under their confinement. Out of evil (saith the scripture) cometh good. Be it then remembered that these oppressive measures, produced some invaluable Blessings: The Petition of Right in the reign of Charles the First; the Habeas Corpus Act in that of his successor; and the glorious struggle, in that of his brother James, which terminated in the Revolution, and the advancement of the illustrious House of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain.

Such customs might perhaps be pleaded in Scottish courts, and before Scottish judges, intoxicated with a blind regard for an arbitrary race of Kings; but I will venture to affirm that no English court will countenance such proceedings whilst a George the Third adorns the Throne, and a Pratt protects the Liberties of the People.

The Scottish party, however, that patched up a disgraceful peace, saddled us with a burthensome excise, and disenfranchised us by an illegal imprisonment, has nevertheless (for I would give the Devil his due) by a wonderful contrast, exhibited one instance of as strong a patriotic zeal, for the public service, as ever appeared in the annals of any nation whatever, and far exceeding the celebrated Scipio's of ancient Rome. The great generals of that name, only disinterestedly brought into the Roman treasury the Spoils of their enemies taken in the field; and only swelled the Roman exchequer with the riches of Spain and Carthage! They never thought of advancing money, from their private fortunes for the assistance of the state, "before it could be possibly known whether the terms thereof would prove advantageous to the subscribers or not!" No! that spe-

cies of patriotism was reserved for the disinterested Mr. Peregrine Cust. Does the reader scruple the existence of the amor patriæ, in these days, in so exalted an extent? I will silence his doubts. Mr. Cust was Sworn to it, and that, "it was in this deponent's opinion and judgment uncertain at the time of this deponent's delivering in his said list [of subscriptions to the lords of the treasury] whether the agreement for the public loan would or would not be attended with benefit to the subscribers." Those who now dispute it will certainly merit Informations, as a proper reward for their infidelity; for such behaviour must, in the opinion of Mr. Cust (and indeed of every man) tend to "prejudice and injure him in his character and credit in his business as a Merchant of the City of London." For my own part I am fully convinced of the patriotism, and thoroughly satisfied of the veracity of this Gentleman.

In these happy days of Oeconomy be it known too (O wonderful contrast to former times!) that Scottish bankers, joyfully repair to the Scottish treasurer, in order to fill an English exchequer with Scottish gold, and support an English nation, with Scottish credit.

But when did a flaming zeal for England first appear in the Scotch? During a long and expensive, though necessary war? No!—Not even till the event of the negotiations for peace was perfectly known. Hence it appears that no part of a Scotch loan was advanced to aid this kingdom against that of France. No, that would have been inconsistent with the ancient friendship between the Scots and the French. For what purpose then did our Scottish fellow subjects,

jects, so kindly assist us? Why, truly to receive a most advantageous interest, excised from the labour of our Cyder-country Englishmen.—What matchless Friendship! What consummate Generosity!

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

MISSED; An appointment to a lucrative employment in the customs. Whoever will bring it to John Deputy Esq; at Tonfor's Hall, shall receive, Ready Written, a Scottish Address, in favour of a Scottish Minister, and in praise of a Scottish Peace.

X.

. The North Briton would have considered the Seizure of Papers in a more extensive light, had not every other point of the subject been so largely and ably discussed already in a letter to the Earls of Egremont and Hallifax, published by J. Williams, next the Mitre Tavern, Fleet-street.

If the Lover of Liberty will make himself known, by a line addressed to the North Briton, at Mr. Sumpter's, he may rely on the strictest honour.



N^o 49.

Saturday, JUNE 18.

*Tu civem patremque geras; tu consule cunctis,
Nec tibi, nec tua te moveant, sed publica vota.*

CL.

SINCE the final conclusion of the Scottish Peace, the advocates for the Scottish Administration have endeavoured, by all possible methods, to ward off the blow which every free enquiry into that

Tragedy of Errors, must inevitably give to the negotiative Talents of their all-bestowing Idol, the Earl of Bute.

The Fanaticks in Scottish Politics, throw all their second-sighted brethren at a distance; and speak of the future advantages of the peace in those absolute terms, which nothing but the most *immediate revelation* could possibly furnish them with. I have not attempted to argue (neither shall I) with such extravagant Enthusiasts; for there is no contending with Madmen.

There is another set of North British and Scotchified English, Politicians, who are somewhat more moderate than the former. These *Ministerial Hogarths* endeavour to dazzle the ignorant by a false glare of colouring: For this purpose, their political Pallets are filled with arguments the most fallacious, and with consequences the most specious: with the first they portray us an honourable, with the latter they paint us an advantageous peace. However, the Sign-post exhibition of these ingenious artists, is now so universally condemned by every real Connoisseur, that their paltry pictures, are become, in fact, almost equally despised with that celebrated performance, the celebrated *Times*, of his Majesty's celebrated *Painter of Pannels*.

It would be endless to enumerate the whole brood of these wretched dependents, and the different branches of *Machiavelianism* assigned by their Scottish Patron to each of them. The business of some is to cry against every reflection on the peace. "It is
" ridiculous (say these miscreant hirelings) to ha-
" rangue about an event, which, even admitting it
" to be inglorious, is absolutely irremediable. Our
" thoughts

“ thoughts now should (continue they) be turned
“ alone to the internal policy of government, at pre-
“ sent adopted ; and the measures of the ministry
“ should now be considered only as they arise.” Others
there are who by a seeming candid manner of admit-
ting the truth of asserted facts, and the justice of ir-
refragable arguments, in matters of little moment,
(whether respecting the peace or any other part
of Scottish administration) established a character
of Impartiality, the better to impose on the un-
wary, by a direct denial of both, in cases of con-
sequence. These people are dangerous, and cannot
be too carefully guarded against.

But the most finished stroke of all, is the task of
those, who are tutored to insinuate to the public
the non-existence of a genuine North-Briton. They
have even had the address to make the news papers
subservient to their insidious purposes. “ We are
“ assured (echoed several of them last week) that all
“ the papers under the title of the North-Briton,
“ which have been published since the apprehension
“ of Mr. W. are merely Catchpennys.” They most
severely know that the North-Briton is an intrepid
assertor of the rights of Englishmen, and an assidu-
ous detector of iniquitous measures, wherever and
by whomsoever transacted. This is the universal
character of the North-Briton, and he glories in the
distinction. In this path of Patriotism he shall con-
tinue to tread ; unawed by intimidations, undeterr’d
by persecutions. Is it then to be wondered at, that
the Scottish faction, having so galling a thorn in their
side, should diligently endeavour to assuage a pain
they cannot absolutely remove ?

I have been obliquely attacked in the *Gazetteer* this week for my attachment to Mr. Pitt. The more I reflect on the peace, the more I have reason for such a conduct. It is evident to me, that the negotiation of 1761, though it did not terminate in a Peace, was a circumstance peculiarly fortunate to the English nation: for to that it is principally to be ascribed, not that the peace is no better, but that it is no worse. For *after* the reduction of Martinico and the neutral islands; after the French had been dispossessed of the greatest part of their conquests in Germany; *after* the restoration of the affairs of Prussia, by the death of the Czarina, and the consequent defection of Russia and Sweden from the Austrian alliance; I say, *after* all these important events, the Scotch minister, and his associates, did not dare to make peace with France upon conditions of less advantage, than had been demanded by Mr. Pitt *before* the acquisition of Martinico; *at a period* when the French were in actual possession not only of Gottingen, but of Cassel, and the whole Landgraviate of Hesse; and *when* the circumstances of his Prussian Majesty, were to all human appearance, irretrievable. Had there been no *preliminary* treaty (if I may so term it) what ruin might not have been apprehended, from the ignorance and incapacity of men, who, almost in every instance, where they departed from the terms of Mr. Pitt's negotiation, committed the most egregious blunders!

In my paper of Saturday June 4th, I undertook the cause of the marine corps. This brave body of men have nobly distinguished themselves in the service of their country, and their recompence has been a continued train of the most injurious treatment. These flagrant abuses, which the influence
of

of power had hitherto prevented from publication, I there exhibited in their proper colours; and what has been my return? One person dissents from me in an immaterial point in the *Gazetteer*, and some ministerial wretch, a tool of despotism! in a letter artfully dated from Westminster, prostitutes the impartiality of that paper, by replying "Your correspondent has done the spurious North Briton too much honour by taking notice of him. I wonder that the wretched Stuff, which the three last papers imposed upon the public under the title of North Briton, contain, should even excite the attention of any person; much less induce any one to take up a pen to refute them." Refute them! What?—The Stuff. What Stuff indeed!—I should be angry at this fellow for the audacity of his attempt, if it did not make me laugh to see the jumbler-together of such a chaos of words, presuming to a knowledge of judging whether any production is spurious or genuine. It moves my mirth too, to see the oppressors of the marines reduced to such feeble shifts; and as I find it "galls the Tartars," I shall lay before the public a few more facts. Facts are stubborn things, and as they are not to be argued against, they have my leave to have recourse, again, to every mean insinuation that may tend to discredit them.

Not to mention the total stop put to all hopes of preferment, by the appointment of Admirals to be their Generals, and Sea Captains to the command of each division, another method was found to contribute to the same righteous purpose of preventing the promotion of every Officer. This was at the latter end of the Year 1761, after the resignation of Mr. Pitt, when several new regiments were raised at once.

The

The King, ever careful of the welfare of his people, gave an order, under the Sign Manual, that all officers, of what corps soever, who might be appointed to higher ranks in these new levies, should have the indulgence of selling their commissions in the corps they before belonged to, whether they had bought them or not; the money arising therefrom being humanely intended to enable them, in some measure, to raise the number of men required.—Now let us see how far the Royal Benevolence was complied with.—Why, the benefits of his Majesty's most gracious indulgence were enjoyed by every corps *but* the marines. They alone were refused them; by which flagrant act of partiality, an opportunity of preferment was lost, which might never be retrieved.

In December 1761, a great number of majors in the army were appointed lieutenant-colonels by brevet; and soon after, many lieutenant-colonels were promoted, in the same manner, to the rank of colonels. The field officers of the Marines, of both these ranks, though senior to most of those who were preferred, to their great surprise and mortification, found themselves totally omitted, by the administration, in those promotions. They remonstrated; they applied for redress. An answer to their application (dated about the middle of February, 1762) from the then Lords of the Admiralty, was returned in the following *obliging, sensible, equitable, and humane Terms*, “That the field officers or Marines
“ had no more right to think they had injustice done
“ them, in not getting their rank, or to complain,
“ than Masters and Commanders in not being made
“ Post-Captains.” The feelings of these gentlemen,

at the receipt of this, can be much better conceived than expressed. Most of the Field officers, whose remonstrances met with so embittering a reception, were brought up in the Army, and came into the Marines as a step only to a future rise. What must then be their reflections on finding themselves deprived at once of what had been the labour of their lives to attain! Of every reward, which honour, rank, and profit could bestow!

There is not a corps in his majesty's service, except this most unfortunate one, but has ever had some friend, or some protector, to whom, upon occasion, it would unburthen its grievances.—Some one person who by a connection of honour or advantage was obliged to support it; to be strenuously careful that it was not a sufferer by injustice or neglect; that its rights were not infringed, or its privileges trampled upon.—Where had the Marines such a patron? They applied indeed for redress to the Secretary of War, and that gentleman very obligingly told them, “he would be glad to do them every service in his power, but could not interfere with the Marines, as they were in the province of Lord Anson; though he thought his Lordship, as he knew of the intended promotion, would have taken care that they had not lost their *right*.” However, after struggling a long time, with great difficulties, they did obtain their brevets; but not without the loss of several months rank.

I shall conclude this subject, for the present, with a genuine letter I, this moment, received from an unknown correspondent.

To the NORTH BRITON.

*Dirue Maurorum Atteguas, castella Brigantum,
Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus
Afferat.*

JUVENAL.

S I R,

THE task you have undertaken relative to his Majesty's Marine Forces is really the cause of the oppressed; and such as is every way consistent with the public spirited character of the North Briton. Indeed, one principal cause of the disadvantages to which the corps is subject, is the almost entire ignorance of the world with regard to the nature of its establishment, and the hardships it sustains.

An old officer, who is desirous of retiring after length of service, upon half pay, is not allowed the usual indulgence, which in every other corps has been customary, of receiving the difference generally given between half pay and full; and which so far from being prejudicial to the service, is of the highest utility thereto; for it brings into it, young officers, who must be supposed infinitely more capable of fatigues; and at the same time provides a trifling pecuniary recompence for those who are worn out in the service, and are desirous of retirement. This hardship has proved so extremely disadvantageous to the marine service, that old captains of seventy, almost unable to walk across a room, and consequently very unfit for sea duty, have resolved, even at that time of life, to submit to it, rather than retire upon half pay, unattended with its usual indulgences, in such cases. Besides, no exchanges into the land service have, for some time, been allowed, which has, of course, prevented the rise of many an officer; and even those who had money to give for that purpose,

purpose, were not permitted to apply it for the promotion of themselves. Hard restraint, that officers should find preferment next to impossible in their own corps, and yet be refused to use the means in their power to procure it in another! Add to this, captains and subalterns, who have raised men, at a heavy expence, for their commissions, are not allowed to dispose of them again. An officer is not even permitted to resign his own commission in favour of another of the same corps.

The inconveniencies of the marines whilst at sea are innumerable, and when disembarked on expeditions (with the land forces) in foreign parts, they are destitute of every little usual advantage on those occasions. To crown the whole, and to put the finishing stroke to all encouragement in the service, an officer of marines is excluded from the natural right of every Englishman, that of being tried in a case of any misdemeanor in his duty, by his own peers. They are tried entirely by sea officers, though surely common justice requires that half the members of the court-martial should, at least be officers of marines.

Things are now come to that pass, and the service is rendered so exceedingly insupportable, that, since the reduction, many old officers have been obliged to beg, as a favour, that they might go upon half pay. This (as it is in the time of peace when they might reasonably have hoped to enjoy some little rest after their labours, even in full pay) must appear very extraordinary, and is an indubitable proof of the present situation of the marine service.

Under all these discouragements, there are some persons who pretend to wonder that the corps is dis-

contented and uneasy; and are surprized that the Officers should insolently dare to make any remonstrances.

I am, S I R,
Your most humble servant,
An OFFICER.

••• The North Briton will take into consideration, in a paper or two, the case of the Officers, &c. in the land service.

N^o 50.

Saturday, JUNE 25.

Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu. ————— HOR.

THE Scottified advocates of a Scottish administration have ever since their illustrious chieftain the earl of Bute was raised above the heads of infinitely his betters to the first employments in this kingdom, exclaimed against that torrent of national prejudice, as they affect to call it, by which the ministerial calf of their general adoration was so likely to be overwhelmed. Any argument dictated by liberty was invective; any accusation of candour was detraction, and the forcible evidence of incontestible facts was national prejudice, and abuse. I have been attacked by a whole myriad of political gnats beyond the Tweed, for my avowed declarations against the blessed place of their nativity, and every means to sting my reputation has been used which could either arise from malevolence, or proceed from resentment. To vindicate, however, my behaviour in that respect, and to justify the motives for my prepossession

possession against the people of Scotland, shall be the subject of my present paper.

When we speak of national prejudices, we never confine our ideas to place, or have any further objects in our view than people. Hence, though in the whole circuit of creation, no country so desperately wild, or inconceivably miserable as Scotland can be discovered; yet I will suppose, what never was supposed before, that it contains every thing the Mahometan paradise can produce, and that in the language of Mr. Pope,

“ Descending gods could find Elysium there.”

For which reason my arguments shall have no relation to the wretched spot itself; the propriety of my prejudice being sufficiently supported in the slightest consideration of the inhabitants.

We all know that the people of Scotland, like the Russians, in Lord Whitworth's time, have every one a share of slavery and power; and that the abject submission which is exacted by their chiefs, is in a proportionate manner demanded by the different ranks in the kingdom. From their infancy up they are all taught an obedience, of the most implicit nature, to their superiors, and imbibe no one sentiment that bears the least resemblance to that generous spirit of independency which glows in the bosom of a freeborn Englishman.

The lower orders of people being educated in a manner so servilely abject, 'tis no wonder that they are treated by their imperious chiefs with an authority the most arrogant. There is a desire in the breast of every man for power, but there is also an incapacity in most, for a proper exertion of it; hence the prin-

cipal part of the Scottish nobility are *Tyrants*, and the whole of the common people are *Slaves*. The first are bred up to look upon the least notion of independance in an inferior as an unpardonable presumption; the latter are taught that an opposition to the will of their chief is the most heinous of crimes. In short, the first are accustomed to the most absolute command, and the latter, acquainted with no other word than, obey.

That this portrait is a striking likeness, I dare say none who have ever been unhappily cast beyond the Tweed will think of contradicting; and what must the natural inference be, if it carries ever so small a trace of the original, but that the natives of Scotland have no idea of public Liberty, and are, consequently, the improperest of all mankind, to hold any office of power among a free people?—Must it not necessarily follow, that every prejudice against admitting them into English employments has but too much foundation, and that we have every reason to be dissatisfied, when we see people of a genius and temper so diametrically opposite to ourselves, advanced to such stations as give them the absolute disposal of the kingdom? Urbanity is the characteristic of the English nobility; downright integrity the mark of the more ordinary conditions: But if any man can shew me a Scot who was not always the most insolent of beings in office, or the most scandalously cringing of reptiles out of place, I shall readily retract my assertions, and set him down the “*Rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cygno.*”

But abstracted from the natural inclination of the Scotch to be slaves, when we consider their extreme indigence, we must still find them more properly adapted for “murders, treasons, stratagems and
“spoils.”

“spoils.” They are a mixture of the rankest pride and the basest servility; and can we suppose that people of such a cast, where they have any opportunity of eating with decency, or arriving at the luxury of a comfortable pair of breeks, would hesitate a single moment about the means? To extend their influence therefore, is to destroy ourselves; for though their poverty may entitle them to pity, ’tis no reason we should consult their interest, by a sacrifice of our own.

Lord Bute, thanks to the partiality of his father-in-law, the late Mr. Wortley Montague, is not now in mean or necessitous circumstances; he has for a long time been acquainted with

“Two puddings smoaking on his board.”

But tho’ we might have nothing to apprehend from the narrowness of his affairs, yet his country alone was an invincible objection to those high offices which real merit can only dignify, and which must always diminish in their splendor, when cast upon the haughty front of *Pride* or the awkward shoulder of *Incapacity*. That the subject has no right to a nomination of ministers every body must grant, but surely (to use a Scotch phrase) they have some right to beg a tune, who are obliged to pay the piper!

If we take ever so cursory a view of the administration of the Scot, we shall find the public discontent, which immediately followed his advancement to power, was neither the consequence of an ill-founded fear, nor the effect of an unwarrantable prejudice. It required no great penetration to see what steps a highland chieftain, of the *Stuart* family, would pursue, who had sucked in the milk of arbitrary principle, and had his head filled with that

bleſſed ſort of doctrine, which the infamous panders of prostituted royalty, before the acceſſion of the Brunſwick Line, had ſo pompouſly dreſt cut in *paſſive-obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*. It was an eaſy circumſtance, and did not require the gift of prophecy, to foretell that a perſon ſo educated, could have no regard for the happineſs of another country, whoſe importance was arrogated in proportion to the wretchedneſs of his own. The event fully juſtified the moſt alarming of our apprehenſions. All the great perſonages who had oppoſed the rebellion of his countrymen, were diſmiſſed from their employments, and he himſelf arrogantly exulted in the enjoyment, not the execution (for he was not capable) of the office of the very nobleman, who was materially inſtrumental in bringing in the great grandfather of our preſent moſt gracious ſovereign. The next ſtep was the hurrying on of a peace, which has rendered the name of England contemptible among the nations, by a reſtitution, an unrequired, an unneceſſary reſtitution! of the moſt capital advantages with which it had pleaſed the God of battles to bleſs us during a bloody and expenſive war. Need the deteſtable duty on cyder be mentioned, to ſhew either the capacity or moderation of this immaculate miniſter? Does not the ſavage air of tyranny in its very conſtruction, prove it to be the laudable ſcheme of an over bearing highlander, as regardless of our welfare as ignorant of our laws?—Are not the Scottiſh creatures of his power this moment eating that ſubſiſtance which is paid for by Engliſh money; and are we not every hour insulted, at all the public offices, by the raw-boned natives of the North, whom we are civilizing into an appearance of humanity,

manity, and an acquaintance with bread? When all these matters are properly considered, will any person condemn me for national partiality, or censure me for prejudices against a nation, where lord Bute is universally admitted to have the best head and the best heart of them all?

Some adulating Auditor, some brainless Briton, or some pitiful Plain-dealer, 'tis possible, may earn the wages of infamy by appearing, on this occasion, in opposition to candour, in defiance of honesty, and in violation of truth: But what a mind must the wretch possess, who draws his venal pen against the interest of his country? 'Tis more than prostitution; 'tis, if I may beg so rare and extraordinary a term, 'tis a sodomy of soul, for which no punishment can be adequate in this world, and nothing but an eternity of torture too mighty in the next!

What greater proof can be required, than the conquest of the Philippine islands, that the most important of all his transactions, was (if we are to distinguish it by no harsher name) shamefully precipitate? What benefit has accrued from this important acquisition, unless we name the sum which was paid by the inhabitants to preserve them from plunder?—The ransom money was scarcely sufficient to defray the expence of the expedition, so that all we have hitherto reaped by this conquest, is the loss of a number of brave fellows, who, had they no other danger to encounter, must naturally be cut off by the calamity of the country. What a pity it is that the addressers upon the peace, are not liberal in their acknowledgments concerning the Philippine islands! And how strange is it that they do not seize so glorious

rious an opportunity of extolling the amazing sagacity of the all be-larded Minister.

Among the list of addressers, we have met with the celebrated name of that judicious critic and orthodox divine the Right Reverend Father in God Dr. George Warburton, Lord Bishop of Gloucester. I own some persons less acquainted with his lordship's virtues than myself, would have been surpris'd at meeting his Lordship's name upon such an occasion, after reading the advertisement prefixed to his Doctrine of Grace, in which he so strenuously extols the measures of Mr. Pitt, and justifies that illustrious minister's retreat from the service of the government. My lord bishop tells us in his advertisement, that "He has a master above and another below; " he means God and the King, to whom his services are bound." 'Twould be unpardonable to doubt his lordship's veracity upon any occasion, I shall therefore take his word for his veneration of the first master, as he has obligingly convinced us of his readiness to court the favour of the second. All prelates have not acted with a candour or reverence so remarkably just and dispassionate, as his lordship! They have not always been invincible against the voice of preferment, or the exigence of times; but shewed us that their duty as Pastors, might sometimes stoop to their expectations as men.

Bishop Jewel, preaching before that royal lump of petulance and pedantry, James the First, declared, in the full presence of the congregation, that his majesty always employed his pen on subjects worthy of a great prince, and never spoke without the assistance of the Divine Spirit of God. His majesty's works were, a treatise to discover witches; arguments

ments for profaning the holy Sabbath; and love-letters to the duke of Buckingham. In one of these he says, "My dear Steenny, (his familiar name for the "duke) come hither to Birely by supper-time, that "your white teeth may shine upon me." A censorious writer would be apt, from this, to conclude, that the good king, that glory of the Stuarts, was sensible of beauty out of the proper sex, and desirous of gratifying so just and natural an inclination. I don't find, notwithstanding the bishop's assertion, that the king's conversation breathed a greater air of divinity than his writings. He employed the principal part of it in capping verses with the statesmen, and discoursing with the old ladies of the court about the distempers incident to children; such as, the rickets, and cutting of the teeth: Yet James was the Solomon of his time, and never spoke without the immediate spirit of God! "Kings, says a "modern writer, possess all the virtues of course; "tho' it must be pleasant enough to hear Charles "the second (who had no religion at all) called the "most pious of princes, and his worthy successor " (who was a rank papist) stiled Defender of the " (protestant) faith."

But to return. — Were we to speak of national prejudices in the common occurrences of life, in the mere transactions of *meum* and *tuum*, nothing could be more absurd than to suppose countries could alter tempers, or climates change constitutions. A Frenchman may pay his debts very honestly, be above propagating a falshood, and have as great a horror to shed innocent blood, as the best Englishman in the universe; but, does it follow, because we should all have the same notions of morality, we should all
have

have the same sentiments of government? By no manner of means. The people of every kingdom are attached to their own laws and customs, and are inculcated in an absolute belief of the superior excellence of such as they have been born under themselves. Hence a Frenchman thinks an arbitrary government the best: hence a Hollander contends for a republic; and an Englishman requires a judicious mixture of both. Educated, therefore, in this difference of political principle, a Frenchman would be a very improper minister in England, and an Englishman no less absurd in the first employments of France. Each would be, naturally, fond of introducing that system of government which he thought best, and thus by a veneration for the manners of their separate countries, nothing less than destruction could be the consequence to the constitution of both.

I have pointed out in the beginning of this paper, the genius and temper of the Scottish people. I have shewn that their sentiments are naturally as arbitrary in modes of government, as those of France can possibly be; and will it remain a question, why I should express the utmost aversion to their being employed in those offices that enable them to subvert the constitution of my country?—Prejudice here, is the voice of reason; and opposition, a duty which every lover of his country ought to hold upon his heart; nay, twist about the strings. Have we not had a recent instance, an instance that cries up to heaven for justice, how much these arbitrary principles of Scottish tyranny were spreading thro' the kingdom, and infecting the very vitals of the constitution! Have not our houses been broken open, our proper-
ties

ties been seized, our secret transactions been exposed, and our persons imprisoned, in manifest violation to the statutes of England; in direct contradiction to every sentiment of reason, and every principle of law! Is not this foundation enough for supposing the liberty of our country in danger, wherever Scottish influence has power to exert itself? and is it not a sufficient vindication of all our prejudices against trusting the people of that kingdom, with an authority which they never possessed in the smallest degree, without infringing all the moral institutions, and bursting thro' all the divine?

X.

N^o 51.

Saturday, JULY 2.

*Qui bene fecerunt, illi sua facta sequuntur :**Qui male fecerunt, facta sequuntur eos.*

Ov.

I HAVE no little reason to exult at the sanguine reception of my last paper. My former Advocates are firmer in my cause, and numberless Neutrals are now become my friends. The latter of these were such who, though they did not approve of the measures of the Scot, were, nevertheless, no way satisfied that a Scottish administration could not be equally protectors of the liberties and welfare of this country with an English one. They are now convinced that my arguments had neither pique or caprice for their foundation, but were strongly built on reason and experience. To confirm my proselytes for ever in their present opinion, I shall enforce every assertion I have hitherto made, on that head, by an entire new consideration—I mean the very—nature
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of the laws and constitution of Scotland itself. But, to illustrate my observations the more fully, it may not be unnecessary to premise some few particulars.

The reign of our great deliverer William the third, if my memory deceives me not, was tarnished with no favourite. Queen Ann, if I do not mistake, displayed very little of Stuartism till the death of her husband. From that period, a feeble ministry listening to the intrigues of France, till they had caajoled them into an infamous peace, after a most successful and glorious war, proclaimed her apostacy from the principles she had frequently avowed to her predecessor. The parliament, it is true, voted a congratulatory address on the peace, but that congratulation was never supposed, nor did it prove, an act of indemnity to the advisers of that unnational measure. In the beginning of George the First, the earl of Oxford was impeached for betraying his country in that detested treaty, but, through the force of party-intrigue, escaped the punishment due to so flagitious a crime. During the remainder of this reign the Revolutioners prevailed, and none were malecontents but Tories. The reign of George the Second is yet fresh in all our memories. He died full of years; laden with success, and surrounded with glory. In this long and happy period, the existence of Toryism had not been known, if she had not hardily ventured from her hiding place, in 1745, and joined her banners to the standard of rebellion. Our beloved sovereign, George the Third, ascended the throne he was born to, and for, in a Whig administration, and consequently became the king of a free, an united, and an happy people. It would be irksome to trace the causes which have since produced such divisions among the great, and such murmurings

murings among the small ; let it suffice, that though our minds foreboded mischief from a Scottish or Tory administration, yet few supposed it would so immediately, be productive of such consequences as we have already seen.

The confusion apparent in the preliminaries was somewhat rectified in the Definitive Treaty ; but even now no person, without the assistance of court-spectacles, a place or a pension, though he were to pore over the map till dooms day, could possibly discover the immense accession of territory we have acquired in America. Nor are our commercial advantages a whit more discernable. On the contrary, the man of independancy, furnished with the least geographical and historical knowledge, must perceive that our friends, the French and Spaniards, are only the gainers by the bargain.

All the charters granted to our settlements in America are limited by latitude, but none of them by longitude, or to the westward. By the late treaty the Mississippi is settled to be the western boundary of our provinces ; by which notorious blunder of our ignorant negotiators, the French may find on the western side of that river, another Maryland, another Virginia, another Carolina, and another Georgia, to which they are entitled by our Concessions—I mean countries of the same extent, the same climates, and the same soil, and of course productive of the same commodities. This is indeed extension of territory ! but to whom ?—We have got, say the court sycophants, Canada, Louisiana, and Florida. Let us examine these acquisitions, and compare them with what we have renounced.

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In fixing the Mississippi as the western boundary of our empire in the new world, all we retain of our four important southern settlements, lies now between the sea and that river, by which wise agreement we have not only given up countries always claimed by our ancestors, but such as are absolutely contained in the Charters of the respective Colonies. The whole of Canada that the French ever possessed, is, *bona fide*, nothing more than what we have ever claimed, as parts of New York, New England, and Nova-Scotia; so that, in reality, here we have not acquired so much as we have ceded in the South. In respect to Louisiana what have we gained there? Why truly just so much as the French had before usurped from Georgia, Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and a small part of Pensilvania! For, by virtue of this blessed treaty, they still detain the rest of that delightful country; equal in quality, and larger in quantity than what they have permitted us to keep of our own. In the name of wonder, what is this but getting a Calf of our own Cow! Whoever considers the rapidity of the Mississippi, and the almost impregnable works which our enemies (friends I should say) have retained there, they will readily observe that by means of that river, and those forts (particularly the two lately built at *Detour d'Anglois*) they can hold a constant intercourse between their insular and continental colonies, and at any time prevent our approaching the bay of Mexico by the Mississippi, or interrupt our Navigation from that bay to our future settlements, if we ever make any, on the banks of that river. Thus, I think, I have incontestibly proved, that, so far from acquiring dominion, we have actually lost all to the westward of the Mississippi which we heretofore claimed: For

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as Canada was only an intrusion on our northern settlements, and as no man can pretend that Florida is equal in value to those fine countries, the claim to which we have renounced, westward of the Mississippi, it is self-evident, that, in point of territory, the French are gainers even in North America. This I would be understood to mean upon the inadmissible supposition that the navigation of the Mississippi is fully secured to us; but when I reflect that this new territory of our's (if I must call it new) beyond the Apalachian mountains, cannot be traded with, or approached, but by the Mississippi: and that by their possessing the forts on the Detour d'Anglois, the banks on each side the river for several leagues above its mouth, and the whole on one side of it up to its very source, the French can prevent such communication, whenever they please; I say, when I consider these things, nothing can be clearer than, that by admitting their hitherto disputed right to countries of such vast import, we have not only curtailed our own colonies of Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia, but actually enabled the French to rival us in every branch of American trade: And, what hurts me worse than all, poor England, *proh pudor!* is made to guarantee to them, these invaluable settlements.

What Englishman can reflect on these things, (so apparently in favour of France) with any degree of temper! What Englishman can think of a Scottish administration, but with curses! Is there a Frenchman that any one would wish to be in power in this land of liberty? Is there a Scot who is not a Frenchman at heart? Is there a Steward who is not a Louis in his soul? No—It were madness to suppose it—they are enemies to every thing that is not Frenchified; they are enamoured with every thing

that is. So fond were they always of enslaving maxims of France, that they borrowed from them not only their political principles, but the very form of their constitution. Paris is the Cradle of the Scotch Legislature. The Court of Session is formed after the model of the French Parliament: it has the same usages, the same technical terms, and the same modes of applying them. Their judges, like those of France, are controuled by no juries; except in the case of Capital Crimes. The supreme court of judicature in Scotland consists of 15 judges, who determine all civil causes, and impose in criminal ones, every kind of punishment, but death, without calling a jury. Must not this form of government produce a most violent caballing Aristocracy? In fact we know that the majority of the court of session, joining in one party, and composing a faction, can at any time maintain an absolute and arbitrary rule over the meaner sort of people in Scotland. Do they so? Let the meaner sort tell. Few, there, have substance sufficient to seek address by appeal to the house of Peers; and those who have, may find it, perhaps, more convenient to chime in with the ruling party, the better to enable them to insult and injure the less powerful. Men, thus favoured, can every where prevail; dictate to voters in every county, and command them in every town. Is there one who dares to resist, who presumes to disobey! What prevents his falling a victim to that Tyrannical Oppression which must be almost inevitable, where the Power of Judges is not limited by the verdict of juries? If the Scots will have this constitution, let them keep it. But I hope no Grandee, born under, and nurtured with the most favourable notions of, such a constitution, will be suffered to guide

guide an English government founded on principles utterly reverse. In England, let a judge be ever so *Jefferiesly* inclined, he cannot now be a tyrant; the decision of their own causes is in the breast of the people, and they will not now be intimidated. The mouth of a judge in England, is nothing more than the book of law; but the mouth of a jury is (almost) the book of fate.

That every true born Englishman may form some idea of the Court of Session, and the inferior courts thereon dependent, I shall present them with an anecdote of the Scotch Faculty of Advocates. This is a corporation, or seminary of law, from whence the judges of the supreme court, and all the sheriffs and judges in the county courts, in Scotland, are taken. In the latter end of the reign of queen Anne, when the glorious measures were concerting for bringing in George the First, this Faculty caused a medal to be struck, representing the restoration of the Pretender to the throne of these realms; this, together with a most flattering address, they transmitted to her majesty, as a lasting pledge of their firm adherence to the Family of the Stuarts, and their strong abhorrence of the pretensions of the House of Hanover. The then Dean, or chairman, of that Faculty, was Mr. Dundas: He was, afterwards, president of the Court of Session for many years: and the son of this worthy person, who offered such a flagrant insult to the great grandfather of George the Third, is now president of that court.

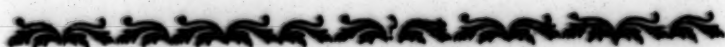
Nor was this address, like too many of our modern ones, wrung from the addressers by the wiles of art, or the commands of power: It contained the

real and genuine sentiments of all who signed it. Let one instance suffice. Among the then members of the faculty was the celebrated Mr. Areskin, who was many years Lord Justice Clerk, or president of the supreme criminal court, in absence of the Lord Justiciary General. This gentleman resided, in common, in the North of Scotland, by the shore of the narrow seas which wash the eastern coast of that kingdom, and the western of Sweden and Denmark : and so notorious was his character, as a favourer of the abdicated family, and an enemy to his sovereign, that, at the time of a general alarm that a combined fleet from France and Sweden was destined to bring over the Pretender, his neighbours used publickly to report of him, that he traversed the coast every day, for several leagues, for the loyal purpose of gaining the first sight of so glorious an armament, equipped for so meritorious an end. Surely too much cannot be done, at least it seems to have been thought so, for the descendants of so dutiful a Subject !

Upon the whole, from what I have remarked in this day's paper, respecting the government of Scotland, and, in my last, regarding the political principles of its nobility, it is most notoriously manifest that, setting aside all national prejudice, a Scotch temper must be totally obnoxious, and contrary, to every disposition consistent with the letter of English Laws, and the freedom of an English constitution ; and I will venture to affirm, whoever traces the Scottish administration, from its spontaneous rise down to those remaining dregs of it, under which

we now groan, will readily perceive that the effect has been exactly proportionable to the cause. L.

•• The letter containing some hints, and a promise of more hereafter, has been received, and will be properly noticed.



N^o 52. Saturday, JULY 19.

Sæpe minus faciunt homines, qui magna minantur.
SEN.

THE almost frantic joy with which our late enemies have hailed the return of peace is as manifest an evidence to whom it is favourable, as the most damning proof, deduced from the strictest discussion of the articles themselves. The growing complaints of the English, furnish us, every day, with testimonies equally convincing; as well as of the partiality of the Scot to his countrymen, and that iniquitous squandering of the public money, which, for their sakes, this paradoxical Oeconomist, is every where introducing into civil and military affairs. The great purpose of every arrangement of the state seems, now, calculated to exalt the Scots, exclude the really English from every mark of the royal favour, dissipate with an ill-judged prodigality the national treasure, place the conduct of all affairs in the hands of persons of known disaffection to the glorious revolution, and even trust the natives of France with the knowledge of our secrets, and the

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management of our public business in the courts abroad.

I should be glad to know by whose recommendation Oswald, a Scotchman and music-master—I mean music seller—for how far he is the other I am no judge—was appointed chamber composer, (an office, I believe, never before heard of) with the allowance of an handsome salary? I would ask the minister whether he did not, himself introduce this gentleman to play the tunes of David Rizzio, generally termed Scotch tunes; and whether this new place was not composed on purpose by the Scottish Oeconomist, for the emolument of the Scottish music-seller. I have no particular quarrel to Mr. Oswald; the world says he is a much better Christian than Musician (I think my friend Norton cannot call that a libel) but as no artist of this country was thought equally worthy of recommendation, the musical genius of the English seems, by his appointment, to suffer a disgrace, which I am willing to believe it cannot deserve.

The great multiplication of placemen and pensioners, since the Tories favoured the Whigs from a share in the administration, together with the additional load of some hundred extra-excisemen, tacked to this alarming inventory, most wonderfully convinces the amazing savings resulting to the nation from the no less new and singular, than memorable plan, of Scotch œconomy.

In order to give the puzzling Premier an opportunity of bringing the half-starved nobility of his beggarly country into the army, a new model must prevail

vail in the disposal of military preferments, and a new regulation be invented to ruin the English for the advancement of the Scotch. Till this war, most (if not all) marching regiments consisted of ten companies. Many of them were afterwards reduced (by whose advice is not now material) to nine: the reduction naturally fell on the youngest company; the private men were incorporated into the other nine, and the officers remained with their regiment; did all duties, went on all services, and, without new commissions, succeeded as vacancies occurred. This rule was not only equitable in itself, but, till the accession of the Scot to power, was as equitably adhered to. What is now their situation? The youngest captain, lieutenant, and ensign of all the old regiments that at present consist of ten companies, are to be reduced to half-pay, and not to be allowed to come in again as before; but are to be separated from the army, and no more considered in preferment than if they did not exist. By this inhuman arrangement they are utterly deprived of their right of succession; and, what highly aggravates the cruelty, upwards of twenty of the captains, out of twenty eight (which is the number, I think, of that rank, who will be sufferers, by this Scotch piece of œconomy) have purchased their commissions at the price of from fifteen hundred, to eighteen hundred pounds each. Nor are the subalterns less unfortunate: perhaps, circumstances considered, they are more so. Many of these are younger brothers, who, in the purchase of their commissions, expended their little all. If either justice, or compassion, had been adverted to, no such thought could have possibly entered into the mind of man, as the depriving these officers of all hopes of succeeding to the posts, from
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which, for no manner of fault at all, they are to be unhappily reduced. I hope the tyrant of a Scot will no longer pretend to sanctify this infamous measure by terming it œconomy. Can it be œconomy to throw a set of officers out of a right of succession, which as vacancies happened, would have gradually freed the public from the incumbrance of their half pay? But then the permitting them to keep their rank in their respective regiments, would place at too great a distance from provision the greedy dependants of the Scot! — Ay, there's the rub! Let that be removed, and the military English shall be considered—that is, when all the Scots are provided for. But let me ask, is not the army already furcharged with them? The army list (cooked as it is) can best determine that point. Do my readers think the colouring of this distressful picture can be heightened?—I know they do not. —Yet glaring as it is, the pencil of Ingratitude has been busy at the canvas and touched it over still infinitely stronger—for the greatest number of the regiments whose tenth companies are to be reduced, are those who have so intrepidly asserted the cause of their country in America, and accomplished all our glorious conquests among the Western Isles.

Speaking of ingratitude, the singular fate of the county of Devon, naturally starts up before me. This one county absolutely furnished the navy with almost double the number of sailors of any five counties in England. Little less than twenty-five thousand of those brave men produced by Devonshire alone, have fell (through the sword, the inclemency of the climates, &c. &c.) this war, in the service of their country: And what has been her recompence? The tyrannical

tyrannical Scot, not content with almost ruining her merchants and traders, through his infamous inattention to the interests of the Newfoundland fishery, barbarously contrived to involve the whole county in one general destruction; by subjecting her entire landed interest, of every rank, gentleman and farmer, to the unconstitutional tax of an arbitrary excise, and the abusive dominion of insolent Excisemen! Those persons, indeed, who do not make more than four hogsheds are excused; but how many widows, and how many orphans of her gallant seamen, are not able to make four gallons? Can these unhappy wretches then procure any cyder to drink but from the exciseable venders; and do they not, therefore, contribute towards a tax, from which humanity and gratitude require they should be exempt?

Let us now take a step to Ireland—Bless me! Sure my eyes deceive me! The W——, I beg pardon, I mean the mistress of a great man—no—a once great man, for he is surely now lost to all real greatness—upon the civil list, with a pension of four hundred pounds a year! What an indignity to the Irish!—In her husband's name too! Where was common decency? Is not this an excellent historical anecdote, to be published in the reign of a prince deservedly eminent for his piety? Is not this a daring insult on the sovereign? The royal word has been given that the public money should be managed with the utmost œconomy; how audacious, then, is it, in any man in power to pervert the upright intentions of the best of kings, whose every act is virtue, by squandering it in the cause of vice, and lavishing it on an open adulteress? This single instance is, of itself, sufficient to fix the character of that infamous party
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that plunders and terrifies the public. That a strolling player, the brother of this woman, has been made a captain in an old regiment, over the heads of all the gentlemen, and thousands on that establishment, is not, after the tale of his amiable sister, worth mentioning.

Hear another story. The late Deputy Quarter-Master General of Ireland being desirous of retiring, a very old officer, of high repute in his profession, one who had studied war with the immortal Wolfe, had served all a former war in Germany and Scotland, and in the late one on the coast of France, entered into an agreement with him for the purchase. This post gives the rank of lieutenant-colonel, which made it a proper object for so old an officer, and so old a captain. A seeming consent, I will not say an absolute one, was given to this bargain (for it was not entered into in secret;) but when the parties had finally finished, the fruits of this poor gentleman's negotiation were lost, and the post conferred on Sir George Osborne, a relation (Nephew, I believe) to the Earl of Halifax. I have no objection to Sir George in particular (he had four long years, or more, of service to plead, and is, besides, a very excellent player at cricket) but I believe the brave officer I am speaking of, had been longer a captain, than the other has been in the army. Why he was rejected I cannot assign a reason; unless, indeed, that can be deemed such, his having been guilty of the heinous sin of serving against the Rebellious Scots, and opposing the ambitious projects of the Stuarts, and their old allies the French, in the year Forty Five.

I believe

I believe there are few who are not of opinion that the reward of merit should lie in that particular walk (if I may beg so theatrical a term) in which the deserving party stands eminently conspicuous. Had major Mason been constituted master of the ceremonies, on every public occasion, at the castle of Dublin, with an handsome salary annexed to his employment, I believe no gentleman would have envied him an honour, to which none could with equal justice aspire. The major is, indeed, the very pink and quintessence of courtesy. His gloves are always so delicately white, and he takes out a lady in a manner so peculiarly graceful, that he moves in the circle but to charm, and swims in the minuet but to kill. Yet, attached as I am to major Mason, I cannot, for the life of me, perceive that his pretensions to the majority he has been appointed to, were superior to the gentleman's whose right it was in the regiment, who was a very old captain, whose character as a soldier was unimpeached, whose reputation as a man was unsullied, and whose money was ready to effectuate the purchase.

In Scotland the king's bounty is squandered away, by the Scot, upon the most improper objects; and that money which, by its original institution, was designed for the relief of his majesty's friends in distress, is, in that country where revolution principles are no recommendation to public favour, actually bestowed on those families that have been most notorious for disaffection. But of this I may, hereafter, expatiate more at large.

Nay, so prevalent and extensive is the interest, the influence, and the power of the now skulking, masquerading, curtain-hid, bo-peep minister, and to repugnant

repugnant is he to the advancement of Englishmen, that the very natives of France are admitted to finger the public money in preference to them.

The reverend Mr. Dutens, a Frenchman, whose father, mother, &c. are now living in France, good subjects to the French king, fond of their son, and he of them, has a pension of two hundred and fifty pounds per annum; and for what? Why, truly, because he is secretary to the Hon. Mr. M'Kenzie, brother to the Earl of Bute. But then, indeed, above four hundred hares, and all the pheasants, have, by order of our celebrated œconomist, been turned out of Richmond Park; for the frugal end, I presume, of balancing expences. This, reader, is not all. Two hundred and fifty pounds a year being too little for a French refugee, Mr. Dutens is now appointed Charge des Affaires to Turin, which is only Eight hundred pounds a year more. How far a native of France, and one whose connection too with his French relations still continues unbroken, is a proper person to be trusted with Ministerial Secrets, I must refer to Englishmen, for we have the Scotch opinion, already, by the appointment.

The annual income appears thus :

	£.	s.	d.
Pension ——— ———	250	0	0
Chargé des Affaires ———	800	0	0
Secretary ——— ———	200	0	0
	1250	0	0

What a pity is it that England should only gratify with so small an annuity so extraordinary a person ! One
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so nearly connected with the brother of that eminent peace-maker, whose relations, distant and near, friends and menial servants, seem to share out the public offices among themselves, in possession, reversion, remainder, and expectancy, as if this kingdom (which Heaven forbid) was once more become the patrimony of a Stuart, and the inheritance of a Scot!

The Letters signed R—— B——, and T. T. are come to hand.

. A line will be left on Tuesday next for the Lover of Liberty, at the Coffee-house he made an appointment at. It will be directed for L. L.



N^o 53. *Saturday, JULY 16.*

Many, the more often they are honoured with the great bounty of their gracious Princes, the more proud they are waxen.

ESTHER c. xvi. v. 2. Apocr.

THE subject of favouritism has been so much hackneyed of late that it may appear, at first sight, very uninteresting to say any thing farther on that head: But as none of our political essayists have, in my opinion, viewed in a proper light, an evil so utterly subversive of public liberty, I beg to be indulged a few remarks on this inherently destructive foe to our free and happy constitution.

It is extremely observable, and no less amazing, that England which has produced so many great and remarkable men in every other situation of life,
 VOL. III. G should

should yet be so barren a soil with respect to royal favourites, that such of our kings who have descended to doat on that sort of trash, have been obliged too seek the partner, or rather the lord of their bosom, from some dependent province on this great kingdom. Strange as it may seem, the fact is nevertheless certain: Our histories all concur in evincing the truth of a proposition which reflects so much honour upon Englishmen. A Newton, a Locke, or a Boyle, may spring from English blood, but scarcely a king-ruling Favourite. From this, it would seem that the free-born sentiments of Englishmen will not permit them to form such abject schemes, or practise such adulatory conversation, as are necessary introductions to so pernicious and ignominious a station. I can find, in my reading, but one exception to this general rule; nor is this single instance unattended with some palliating circumstances; for the English Favourite, had received a foreign Education; but of this, in its proper place. I cannot but congratulate the people of this kingdom on so honourable a distinction, and at the same time suggest to them the proper use to be made of so important an observation.

The Norman Conqueror as he possessed a French heart, was consequently an admirer of French politics. Through the whole of his reign the erecting and fixing an arbitrary mode of government was almost his sole object: but as no Englishman, of any rank, could be prevailed on, either by promises or menaces, to assist in an administration so repugnant to freedom, the tyrant was indispensibly obliged to effect his oppressive purposes with the servile assistance of his foreign subjects only.

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The posterity of William instinctively adopted the same views, and inflexibly observed the same rule: And though the antient Saxon line was soon restored (by marriage) yet as these princes found the Normans and Gascoons more compliant with their despotic measures, than the English, they still continued to employ them as their instruments of tyranny.

Favouritism, however, makes no distinguished figure in English history 'till the time of Henry the Third. In this reign, Hubert de Burgh, under the title of Chief Justiciary, made himself absolute master of the king and royal power, till the barons combining in a patriotic Opposition, forced him to resign, and withdraw into France.—This Favourite was not an Englishman.

In the reign of Edward the Second, Gaveston, the Spensers, and Mortimer, were successively Favourites, in the most extended and hated sense of the word.—None of these were Englishmen.

Henry the Sixth indeed, for some time, submitted himself to his uncle the duke of Gloucester, an Englishman: But as that nobleman's administration, seems to have had the public good for its principal object, and as it affords us no instance of that tyrannical cruelty, and self-interested rapacity, so characteristic of a Favourite, he cannot properly be ranked with those detested panders.

Who have now brought Favouritism down to that revolution which, in the person of Henry the Seventh, gave the English crown to the house of Tudor. Empson and Dudley, the ministers of this prince, were, indeed, both Englishmen, but they can by no means be called their master's Favourites.

It does not appear that they ever made any attempts towards governing the sovereign, and sharing in the royal power. On the contrary, being men of no very eminent abilities, they became the tools of majesty; and what little ministerial talents they possessed, were rendered by the king entirely subservient to his own private views.

In the next reign cardinal Wolsey, an Englishman, made so near an approach to the character of a Favourite that superficial writers have frequently treated him as such: But whoever studies minutely the history of those times, will find that Wolsey availed himself of other means than favouritism to attain that kingly grandeur which was the darling passion of his soul, and that Henry the Eighth so far from having any real Favourite, was incapable of entertaining a regard for any person further than they promoted his insatiable ambition, avarice, and lust.

I know the Earl of Essex, an Englishman, is considered as the Favourite of Elizabeth. I will admit the denomination; but nevertheless, it does not subvert my hypothesis, that the characteristics, of a Royal Favourite, are inconsistent with the generous disposition of an Englishman. Essex, then, was a favourite, but he ruled (if, strictly speaking, he ever ruled at all) by a softer tie.

Thus, it is manifest that from the Conqueror to the reign of queen Elizabeth, inclusive, there was not an Englishman who could, with propriety, be termed a favourite. 'Till the reign of Henry the Seventh, these abandoned wretches, were chosen from amongst the natives of the French provinces, that were in possession of the crown of England.
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From that period to the accession of the Scotchman, James I. the throne was not divided between the prince and his favourite; but every monarch, conscious of his own dignity, ruled, as every monarch ought, by himself alone. It is greatly virtuous in a subject to well advise his king; it is daringly presumptuous to govern him. In a word, the first, is the highest Patriotism; the last, the most superlative Disloyalty.

The reign, indeed, of James the first, presents us with an English favourite: but be it remembered that this Englishman was, if I may venture at the expression, born again in France. Mr. Villars, afterwards duke of Buckingham, appeared at court about the twenty-third year of his age. His person was handsome even to profusion; and as to his manners and principles they were perfectly Gallic; for he received his education at Paris, and sucked in his system of politics at the court of Versailles. Fraught with accomplishments like these, it is not a wonder that he crept into the heart of a king, who was born and educated in a nation passionately fond of every thing either French or Frenchified. Buckingham no sooner became a favourite, than he employed, in his own service, every power with which the crown is entrusted, for the good of the people. He commanded in the bosom of James, and afterwards in that of his son, with an almost despotic sway. He controuled their most delicate passions, and guided the most important actions of their lives, according to his pleasure, in direct opposition to their own desires. He compelled his master, much against his inclination, to send his son Charles into Spain, that the prince might pay his addresses, in person, to an

Infanta, whom this all-governing favourite had designed for his bride. Buckingham conducted him thither, where, being soon disgusted with the manners of the Spaniards, he [Buckingham] changed his mind; and though Charles was now enamoured with the princess, he not only obliged him to drop the pursuit, but on his return, engaged James (averse soever as he was to war) to break with the then powerful monarch of Spain. The king even concerted with the favourite to impose, or attempt an imposition, on the house of peers, respecting the affair of the Spanish match, in order to bring the parliament into the measures of the court. Nor would the duke permit his master to give a hearing to the earl of Bristol, who had been lately ambassador at the court of Madrid; but with the most arrogant tyranny, prevailed on him not only to forbid that honest nobleman the court, but even to omit him in the writ of summons for the holding the next parliament.

After the death of James, Buckingham maintained an equal power over his son and successor Charles the first. If the French court soothed the pride of the duke, then peace was sure to prevail; but the nation was laid under the shameful necessity of avenging any affront given to Buckingham, though it were only the disappointing him in an amour. The temper and situation of the people, were never consulted, when the minister's passion called for the sword to be hostilely drawn, or his humour inclined him to have it peaceably sheathed. He was the unwearied inculcator of arbitrary notions in the breast of his prince, and, like every other favourite, constantly securing to his family and dependents, large reversionary grants

grants of the most lucrative employments. His conduct naturally created him numberless enemies, and though his power over the king enabled him to evade a parliamentary prosecution, yet neither his birth as an Englishman, his influence at court, nor his personal accomplishments, numerous as they were, could preserve his life in the midst of an enraged people. Felton's dagger found the way to that heart which braved the house of commons; and the nation, by his death, was relieved from the oppression of one parricidal favourite.—Buckingham, it is true, drew his first breath in England, but when the place of his education is remembered, I believe there are few Englishmen who will allow him any other appellation than that of a foreign favourite.

In the next reign the blossoms of liberty were nearly blasted, by a Scotch favourite, the duke of Lauderdale. This upstart and abandoned Minister, was not content alone with advising the most violent measures, but absolutely projected many species of bribery and corruption (before unheard of) in order to win an English House of Commons to sanctify and support them. These infamous practices were soon productive of general murmurings, and some open accusations, but the cautious Grandee, observing the clouds to be gathering, timely withdrew beneath the Tweed, where, a French constitution diffusing more abject and submissive principles, he raged with unresisted fury. In a few years however, this Haman-minded minister had the arrogance to return; but the shortness of his stay, which the universal complaints of the people were the cause of, afforded a striking instance of the difference between a nation of freemen and a kingdom of slaves. Nevertheless,

verthelets, before he took his final departure, he taught that weak monarch, Charles the Second, to imagine it was possible to discern a difference, which in truth cannot exist, between the honour of the crown and the interest of the subject; and persuaded that unthinking prince that he was honestly served by ministers, who preferred this romantic exaltation of the prerogative, to the real benefit of the people.

This destructive doctrine in politics, though it never can be harboured in the breast of a wise and a good king, will, nevertheless, from the place of their birth and the nature of their education, ever be strenuously inculcated by Scottish favourites. The ready reception it met with in the family of the Stuarts, entailed on that haughty house all those various misfortunes which, in the end, involved them in one general ruin; drove them from their hereditary possessions; and utterly, and for ever, annihilated their regal power. An instance so striking as this, must, to the end of time remain an indelible proof of the baneful tendency of Scottish counsels, the mischievous consequences of Scottish tenets, and place in the detested point of light it ought to be viewed, that hellish Thesis which may not be unaptly termed, Lauderdale's last legacy to England. — This worst of favourites was a *Scotchman*.

James the Second, who succeeded his brother Charles, was an avowed Roman Catholic, and governed by his favourite, Father Peters; the queen (an Italian princess of the house of Modena) sharing, however, in some measure, that power with him. These two had an unlimited ascendancy over the
king;

king ; he followed only their counsels, and he pursued only their measures. The effects are too well known to need repeating.—Father Peters was not an Englishman.

If Queen Ann may be said to have worn the fetters of favouritism, her shackles were forged by a female. Sir Robert Walpole, long as he was minister, was no favourite : nor do any of his successors, down to the death of George the second, deserve that odious appellation.

From this brief review, we plainly see how incompatible the arts and tyranny of favouritism, are with the generous sentiments of the English ! we see how repugnant the infamous post of Royal Favourite is to a free-born Englishman ! we see the manifold bad effects of Princes cherishing in their bosoms those destructive basilisks to public liberty ! we see the dangerous tendency of placing in the chief department of the English government, men who are not, by birth and education, Englishmen ! If, therefore, we are not resolved to shut our eyes against the evidence of indubitable facts, the most convincing experience, and every rule of reason, we must admit that only an Englishman is fit to direct an English state ; and that, consequently, to argue for the propriety of a Foreigner's, but more especially for a Scotchman's and a Stuart's, conducting an English government, is a most notorious solecism in politics.

X.



N^o 54.

Saturday, JULY 23.

*"Where there is any thing to be got, a covey of
" Scotchmen convenes, like flies in the shambles."*

CRAFTSMAN, LORD GRANV.

IN my paper of Saturday the 9th instant, agreeable to a promise I had some time since given, I entered upon the grievances of the army. The reception it met with from the world in general, and the thanks I have received from several of the injured officers in particular, have given me a heart-felt satisfaction which I can no way better explain, than by proceeding on that important point. There is one thing, however, I cannot resist premising; namely, that notwithstanding the contemptuous silence with which I shall make it a rule to treat those wretched hirelings who scribble in support of an abandoned ministry, yet as one of those anonymous champions has been hardy enough to challenge me, in a public paper, to shew even a single instance where the interest of the Scotch has been preferred, in the army, to the English, and in a manner rested the authenticity of my paper upon it, I shall chearfully accept of the invitation, and am willing to stake my reputation with the public, on the event. In short, I will give him, in the course of this subject, such damning proofs as none but a Scotchman, or, what is still worse, a Scottish Englishman (for some such there are!) can possibly have the assurance to deny.

To trace the hardships of the gentlemen of the army, in a regular succession, as they arose,

rose, is what cannot be expected from a periodical publication of this nature: That method would much better suit a more laborious work; and there is matter enough to fill a reasonable volume. It will be sufficient, I presume, for me, to notice, as they arise in my memory, those facts that appear the most flagrantly partial, and the most cruelly unjust.

In the year 1760, it was judged necessary to send four companies of his majesty's 70th regiment, with their officers to the East Indies; and to supply this deficiency, four companies were added to the five at home. Soon after, an order was issued, that the regiment should immediately provide camp equipage; and the injunction was complied with at a heavy expence: But it fell on the officers of the four additional companies only; for the other five had then marched from an encampment in Scotland, and were consequently provided; nevertheless, they received the usual allowance of forage-money, &c. Repeated applications have been made by the Field Officers, in behalf of the injured, without effect; and within these two months, a memorial, praying that an allowance may be granted to the officers of the four companies, has been presented by Colonel Trapaud himself. But what has it produced? Why, to be sure, Mr. Welbore Ellis, with his usual grimace, did deign to promise that "he would lay the affair before the King;" but whether this accomplished right honourable Secretary at War has really kept his word, that public which have known so many striking instances of his majesty's royal benevolence, his eminent humanity, the amiableness of his disposition, and the extensive goodness of his heart, may, when they are told that no warrant has yet been issued

sued for the relief of these gentlemen, judge as they think proper. That arrears and forage-money should be kept from officers, to their great loss, for three years, is not, in these days of Scotch œconomy and universal discouragement (to the English) any way singular, for it is the case of many other corps; but that one part of a regiment should be indulged with his majesty's bounty, and the other part not, is a circumstance, I believe, never before heard of?

Amongst the many hardships on officers, with which the army abounds, perhaps none is more cruel than that of a new appointed commander of an army divesting gentlemen of (I had almost called it degrading them from) those commissions which were granted them by the general he supersedes. I would ask whether several officers to whom general Shirley had given commissions were not deprived of them on the arrival of the Scotch general in America? It was alledged, indeed by the latter, that as they were signed after his appointment, they were consequently not valid; but, surely, it requires no very consummate knowledge in the law of reason, to prove general Shirley's right of signing commissions till the arrival of his successor! Nay lieutenant colonel Lee, who purchased a company, absolutely disputed the point, and the Scotch general was glad to acquiesce. Those who submitted were thrown out of the army, unprovided for, and most of them, to this moment remain unredressed.

I have heard lately some little whisperings concerning a court of inquiry held at the Horse Guards on Wednesday the 29th of June, and continued by adjournments to the Tuesday night following. I believe it is a secret to more than nine tenths of my readers,

readers, and indeed of the public in general, but I think it of a nature too important to remain so. To comment on the all-grasping nature of a Scotchman, is as needless as to remark that two and two make four; the one is as universally admitted as the other. It seems a certain general neither Englishman nor Irishman, claimed a right to three thousand pounds (in the hands of Mr. Calcraft) which is a contingent belonging to the Royal American regiment.—How, and by whom, such immense savings came to be made is not now material. This inquiry, if I am not misinformed, was held at the suit of Colonel Prevost and Lord Howe; the latter as heir to the late lord Howe, who was colonel of one of the American battalions. The Royal American regiment was raised by one whose memory will be revered by every military man, and every patriot, to the latest posterity; I mean the Duke of Cumberland. His royal highness, who had the arrangement of the corps, and consequently was the properest judge of any thing relating thereto, wrote to the court of inquiry, by his secretary, his opinion about the perquisites of the colonel commandant; and (for who can set bounds to the arrogance of a Scot!) a certain person had the indecency to return something like “His Royal Highness utterly mistakes the matter.” I am told two general officers were brought to prove that somebody declared in the British coffee-house that he had given up all pretensions to every perquisite, except his pay as colonel, and that the reply was to this purport; “he did not” “recollect making use of any such words; and he” “apprehended, as they were not committed to” “writing, they were of no force.” The plea astonished every hearer! However, the legality of the

VOL. III. H claim

claim was scrutinized with the minutest precision, and the determination was such as must be expected from the justice of a court, where the able, brave, and honest general Conway presides: In a word, it was decided to the satisfaction of the greatest part of the American and Portugal officers, in favour of Colonel Prevost and Lord Howe.

The mentioning of the Portugal officers, leads me to an inquiry into some particular occurrences during the residence of the British army there, whilst under the command of that true Scot, and experienced General, the Earl of Loudon; admired and esteemed for his great virtues and military knowledge, equally in Portugal as in America!—I believe it is a glaring fact that some commanding officers of corps (by whose orders I cannot pretend to say) were obliged to give receipts in full for so many days forage, when five or six days were due on every receipt. That the government is charged with this extra-forage money (and it is no inconsiderable sum) there cannot be a doubt; for there would, otherwise, have been no occasion for receipts, farther than the quantity received. That it has not been divided, as a *douceur*, among the officers who underwent so much fatigue, not in the service of their country, but his majesty of Portugal's, is equally certain. That it has been, however, applied to some public spirited purpose, cannot, in these days of Scottish œconomy, be reasonably disputed; but as the public are to pay it, they have a right to enquire with whom this extra-forage money centers; and, as a strenuous and intrepid assessor of their rights, I now call upon those in whose power it is to answer the question?

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That the service is no longer equally desirable as it has been, cannot be wondered at, when commissions are every day given to aliens (if I may beg the term) in prejudice to gentlemen whose undoubted right they are. It is a notorious truth that commissions were signed in Portugal, in time of war, for infants at the breast. The circumstance indeed made so great a noise amongst the military, that one commission was recalled; and the father of another baby written to, that he must sell again that which he had purchased for his child. A quarter-master's commission too has been given to a petty clerk in the office of a considerable Agent. Are not these proceedings beyond all bearing? and can it be astonishing that gentlemen who have hazarded their lives in Portugal or elsewhere, and are returned as they went, volunteers, should murmur at the unjustifiable appointment of infants and hackney-writers, in preference to themselves?

Perhaps the most flagrant instance of partiality to the Scotch, in prejudice to the English, was the appointment of Mr. Douglas to the rank of lieutenant-colonel—This is the story—After the signing of the preliminaries, Lord Allen, the deputy quarter master general in Portugal, asked permission of the Scotch commander in chief, lord Loudon, to come over to England. The war being over, his request was readily obtained; and as there was little, or nothing of business, now remaining, in that department, to transact, and as Mr. Charles O Hara, the quarter master general was then in the army, it was not supposed there could be any necessity for nominating a deputy in the absence of lord Allen. However, be that as it may, though all military operations

rations were suspended, captain Douglas, a Scotchman, and Aid de Camp to the Earl of Loudon, was appointed to the post. Let us now see the termination of this affair. It was no less than this: Captain Douglas, soon after his appointment to the office of deputy deputy quarter master general, was recommended home for the rank of lieutenant colonel; and the same was very irregularly obtained, to speak in no harsher terms of it, over the heads of all the majors of the line, who had then his majesty's commissions of lieutenant colonels in Portugal only. To set this affair in a still clearer light, and to prove the superior interest of a Scotchman to an Englishman or an Irishman, I must beg leave to make use of one gentleman's name, tho' I declare I am not acquainted even with his person; I mean major Lutterell. This gentleman went out a captain in Burgoyne's Light horse, with the rank of major, and was, consequently, a field officer; he was a volunteer at Valencia, commanded the Portuguese grenadiers, and behaved very gallantly: Douglas went out a subaltern (a lieutenant in the guards, which ranks indeed as captain) and aid de camp to lord Loudon. Lutterell was deputy adjutant general in Portugal the whole war; which is equally entitled to rank with the deputy quarter master general: Douglas was only deputy deputy quarter master, in time of peace. Lutterell has not got the rank of lieutenant colonel: Douglas has. Lutterell is an Irishman: Douglas is a Scotchman.—The reason I have singled out the case of major Lutterell, in particular, is obvious from the comparison I have been making: But surely the case of all the majors of the six British regiments, who had his majesty's commissions for the rank of lieutenant colonels in Portugal only,

only, who are most of them Englishmen, and over whose heads captain Douglas, a Scotchman, took so extraordinary a leap, is equally hard! — Having said thus much it is incumbent on me to observe, that in laying before the public grievances of this sort, I do not intend the least reflection on those gentlemen who so luckily procure such preferments. Their deservings may, possibly, be equal with those over whom they are so appointed. All I would be understood to point out is, not the merits or demerits of those who are so irregularly preferred, but the extreme partiality of the people who so inequitably prefer them.

Before I quit this paper, and, for the present, the affairs of Portugal, I must ask, and should be glad to be acquainted with, the reason why the fleet of men of war and transports were kept in the river Tagus, for five or six days, after the artillery and troops were embarked? Two men of war, fourteen or fifteen transports, six regiments of foot, besides the light horse, train of artillery, &c. &c. must cost the government, in pay and victualling, no little sum, in that space of time. I hope there is no truth in a flying report, that they were detained merely because a certain person was negotiating with the prime minister at the court of Lisbon, for the same compliment that his Portuguese majesty voluntarily paid to general Townshend and brigadier Burgoyne; gentlemen, whose gallant behaviour, in the command of separate corps, had recommended them to the grateful notice of the king of Portugal, and whose condescending, courteous behaviour, had engaged them the general esteem of the whole army.

N^o 55.

Saturday, JULY 30.

Inde datæ leges ne fortior omnia posset.

VIRG.

THE late important decision in favour of the subject at the Common-Pleas, having given a deadly stroke to ministerial tyranny and oppression, 'tis no great wonder that the infamous hirelings of prostituted power should use every art to lessen the justice of the verdict, and to try every expedient to make that sentence appear cruel, which in fact is not more distinguished for its rectitude, than remarkable for its lenity; not more celebrated for its spirit, than eminent for its case.

The principal argument which is used by these Scottified scandals to the name of Englishman, is the necessity of investing a secretary with an absolute power over that dearest and most invaluable of all possessions, our liberty; and of granting him an authority that bursts thro' every dictate of our reason, and violates every principal of our laws. These worthy gentlemen are pleased to say that without this power, a number of evils may be committed with impunity; of this I am certain, that with it, we should see infinitely more. Conspiracies or plots against the government, are things pretty much out of fashion in these days; and should any of them be again carrying on, nobody would condemn the stretch of ministerial authority which would direct the parties to be taken up: the necessity would be a sufficient excuse for the illegality of the proceeding, and we should, I dare say, meet with no one member of the

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the community, who would exclaim against a step thus visibly calculated for the security of the whole : — But, at the same time, the secretary should be well assured that some dangerous proceeding was actually carrying on, and that he was at least supported by the most positive appearance of facts : Otherwise, it would be, at all times, in his power to seize and imprison the innocent, and to drag the most faithful of his majesty's subjects, in the dead of night, from the possession of his house, the defence of his family, and the intercourse of his friends. Whoever was in the least obnoxious to him, might, at any time, be committed to prison, under a trump'd-up accusation of some treasonable crime, and be treated as the most dangerous of his sovereign's enemies, because he was not happily the minister's friend.

Was this the case, and did not the laws of the land happily come to our defence, we might bid adieu to every shadow of liberty, and look upon all ideas of freedom as totally at an end. Every freeman who intended to vote at an election in opposition to the interest of the minister, would be seized as a traitor to his king, every writer that spoke in favour of his country taken up as an enemy to its constitution, and the very guardians of the public liberty, our representatives in parliament, committed to the tower for dissenting from the worst of measures, and opposing the worst of men. Was a minister endued with this unlimited authority, are not oppressions of this nature to be hourly dreaded ; and have we not every reason to suppose that the political sword of some ministerial tyrant would be hung with a single hair over our heads ? To say it is no way probable that the inquisitorial authority
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of a secretary would be ever carried to such unwarrantable lengths, is speaking in open contradiction to experience and truth. Does not the very case in point, the apprehension of the printers, convince us that it would; and that even in the reign of the best of princes there could be no security for our property, no defence for our persons, or veneration for our laws?

The mercenary tools of ill-delegated power (for so it has undeniably proved) have long railed at me for an obstinate opposition to the ministry. But I shall now submit to the determination of the impartial world who is most in the right? A public court of justice and a jury of honest free-born Englishmen, have decreed the all-including warrants of the secretaries to be illegal; sufficiently manifested by sentencing their officers to a pecuniary mulct for executing oppressive and arbitrary commands. A behaviour, thus condemned by the statutes of the land, must inevitably proceed from ignorance or design: I shall therefore ask this plain question; Are the men fit to be trusted with the administration of our affairs, who in the most material of all points, the liberty of the subject, appear so utterly ignorant or regardless of our laws? Are they proper ministers in a free state who have no idea of liberty, or who entertain no respect or veneration for it, if they have? The answer is apparently obvious, and justifies every argument, hitherto advanced, for having them instantly removed. To complain of such ministers, is the highest instance of duty and affection that can be shewn to an English king; to a monarch born and educated in this country, who, truly sensible of the proper ornaments in his crown, has declared

clared liberty to be the brightest jewel of them all. Who can have a regard for our excellent sovereign, that tamely observes the liberty of that sovereign's countrymen abridged, or silently sees the laws of that nation violated, which this best of princes was born to defend? The answer to this question is also self-evident, and none view the daring oppression without murmuring, but our worthy fellow subjects the Scotch, and some few degenerate apostates of this country their friends.

In some of my preceding papers I asserted, that whenever any country was governed by a minister of another, that that minister would naturally aim at introducing the established modes and ordinances of his own nation; as every man always entertained a prepossession in favour of those laws in which he had been originally educated, and these maxims which he had originally imbibed. A cursory view of the proceedings upon the trial in question will amply convince my readers with how much reason I made the assertion: Ever since lord Bute's accession to the ministerial government of this kingdom we have seen the manners and principles of the Scotch most sedulously adopted, and seen them advanced in a preference, in an unpardonable preference to ourselves! to the first offices under the crown. Not content with this, an infamous excise has been attempted upon our liberties, and a villainous endeavour been lately made to govern us by their laws.—But, to be clearly understood;

The council for the messengers, in the action brought by the journeymen printers, made use of every argument to bring in the verdict special, that is, to leave the jury no other power but the decision
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of facts, and to rest the damages entirely in the bosom of the court; endeavouring by this means to destroy that inestimable bulwark of the public freedom, the right which every man has of being regularly judged by his peers. Though there was no danger in the court of Common Pleas, but that proper damages would be given, yet this attempt happily failed; and the jury resolutely exerted, to the full extent, those privileges which are the distinguishing characteristics and blessings of an Englishman, in spite of every ministerial effort to reduce them to an absolute state of Scottish servility and subjection; for the reader must be informed, that, in the few cases where juries are impaneled beyond the Tweed, they are carefully instructed that their only business is to ascertain facts, and that it is the sole prerogative of the court to judge of the fine to be awarded, or the punishment of an offence. By these means, let the people in power there be guilty of abuses ever so flagrant, it is in the breast of a judge to mitigate the punishment, or fine, to a matter of perfect indifference; and, on the other hand, to pass the severest sentence on the least opposition to an intolent chieftain, as relentless in his temper as oppressive in his command.

To this state have the sons of England lately beheld an attempt to see themselves reduced by the wretched machines of a daring yet timorous Scot, an arrogant yet trembling minister! And can it remain, after this, a question, whether the people capable of making so violent an attack upon our liberty, should not be hunted out of the royal presence by the firm, yet respectful, complaints of the nation? No Englishman but will answer yes; and surely that wretch is unworthy even of an existence
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in servitude, that can lick the hand by whom he is enslaved!

The case of the printers has been industriously represented as particular and no way interesting to the kingdom; but surely the fallacy of such a representation must immediately strike any person of the smallest understanding. Did not the same illegal use of power which confined them, equally expose the liberty of every other person in the kingdom; and could we, with any propriety, look upon ourselves as a free people, if even a part of our fellow subjects were liable, at every ministerial whim, to be slaves?—But notwithstanding the infamous delusion of interested scribblers, the case of the printers was more the case of the nation, than if any other set of people had been taken up; for the press is the only channel by which the public grievances can be represented, and the only expeditious means of having them speedily redressed; the cause, therefore, of the printers, was the cause of the public; and had it not been so, the secretary's warrant had slept quietly on the shelf, nor would it have once entered into the sensible head of any person in power to take them up.

'Tis no wonder, indeed, that the generality of ministers entertain such an aversion to the freedom of the press, or that they use every means of intimidating the people employed in that profession from meddling with political topics, since so very few of their actions can stand the inspection of the world. What would that Machiavel of the age, the sagacious Earl of Bute, give, in some of his thoughtful hours (for there are hours in which even his head must be endued with a capacity of thinking) that
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the use of letters was hitherto undiscovered, and that no written memorial could remain of that everlasting infamy which his vile administration has entailed upon his whole race. Far am I from supposing that he is in the least concerned for the obligations which he has heaped upon this country : and further am I from thinking that he does not wish we were still more highly indebted to his amazing integrity and consummate wisdom ; all I would insinuate is, that there are moments in which even his lordship cannot help reflecting on the curses of posterity, and the imprecations of whole nations, with regret.

But among the number of ridiculous positions advanced by the venal advocates of power, sure none can be more extraordinary, than to assert that two hundred pounds is an award much too large for the illegal imprisonment of the journeymen-printers, as their damages could by no means amount to a fiftieth part of that sum. I am willing to believe, for the credit of my country, that no observation of this nature could possibly escape the mouth of an Englishman, or even fall from the lips of any man who has ever so distant a notion of our Liberty and Laws. That the journeymen printers did not suffer damages to the amount of the verdict in their favour, nobody will venture to dispute ; but, at the same time does it follow that, because they did not sustain damages to such an amount, that the people should not suffer a proper punishment who made the most violent of all attacks upon our constitution, and shook the invaluable charter of our liberties to the very centre of the state ? Does it follow that, because the printers were no great losers in their confinement,

finement, that an adequate punishment should not be inflicted on those who took them so illegally up? — Any man of sense will readily see the necessity of proportioning every punishment to the offence; and if there can exist one Englishman who thinks two hundred pounds an exorbitant recompence for a violent seizure of his liberty, and a daring attack upon the constitution of his country, may he be instantly driven from all society with human beings, and, to complete the measure of his calamities, be confined for life with the more than savage inhabitants of the wild and miserable island of Bute!

But supposing, for the sake of argument, that the verdict in favour of the journeymen printers had been proportioned to the damages which they sustained, and not made any way adequate to the crime; what then would have been our situation? Would not any minister have it in his power to confine the person and seize the papers (that most valuable part of every man's property) of any one, who was in the least disagreeable or obnoxious to him, at little or no expence? 'Tis very seldom in cases of this nature, that people lose any great matter during a confinement of four and twenty hours, so that, if their real damages only were allowed them, the amount would perhaps be very trifling and immaterial, and the unjustifiable warrant of a secretary be, at all times, hung, in terrorem, over our heads; and frequently executed without any probability, (in the most innocent cases) of redress. A man's expences would be paid him, but where should we see him receive a satisfaction for the loss of his liberty, the confinement of his person, and the scandal which his character must inevitably suffer from the imputation of a

crime? Where would the punishment be for this daring attack upon the freedom of individuals, and the safety of our constitution, or where should we find any example to deter the creatures of a tyrannical Scot from seizing that liberty, upon the most trivial occasions, of which the printers were so infamously robbed? From the very nature of the case, was it not absolutely necessary to levy such a fine upon these violators of our law, as might frighten any future panders of authority from a perpetration of their crime? If a necessitous wretch takes a purse upon the road he is condemned to die, not because the purse was the value of his life, but because he broke in upon the laws, and because it was proper to make him an example, to deter others from the commission of the same offence. Hence, in the case of the messengers, the verdict of a resolute and honest jury, has subjected them to the payment of 2900*l*. Not because the damages sustained by the plaintiffs were equal to that sum, but to punish them for an infringement of the laws, and to deter them from any future abuses of their office, in wanton apprehensions, or wilful attacks upon the liberty of the people. As it must necessarily follow that in proportion to the penalty inflicted, the freedom of the subject is secured, no well wisher to his country can feel the least concern at the fine to be levied upon the messengers, unless he laments that it is not fifty times the sum

X.

N^o 56.

Saturday, AUGUST 6.

Omnium societatum nulla est gravior, nulla carior, quam ea quæ cum republica est unicuique nostrum : Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares : Sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est : Pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, si ei sit profuturus ?

Cic.

I SHALL make no apology to my readers for the entertainment of to-day, as the following performance is the production of a very celebrated pen, to whom this country is under the highest obligation.—It was put into my hands by a personage of the first distinction, whose friendship I shall always think it my greatest glory to possess ; and, under whose protection, should my name stand a chance of perpetuity, I shall be under no apprehensions of the censures of posterity.

My reader is not, I dare say, to be informed of the sincere attachment which the great Sir Richard Steele had in favour of the illustrious house of Hanover, or to be told of the many noble arguments which he used for the succession of that family to the throne of these kingdoms. Among a number of spirited discourses which he published on that account, the infamous tools of a weak and wicked administration, took hold of a piece entitled the CRISIS, in which Sir Richard had repeated the various acts of parliament, in consequence of the revolution, to keep every popish successor of the house of Stuart, from acceding to the possession of these realms. To these acts he joined many forcible ar-

guments of his own, and before the copy went to press had the united opinion of Mr. Moor, one of the ablest lawyers in the kingdom, Mr. Seckmore, Mr. Minshul, Mr. Hoadly, and Mr. Addison, that the pamphlet contained nothing repugnant to the duty of a good subject, or the principles of a free-born Englishman. Mr. Foley, however, moved the house against the author, and by that one circumstance,

Dam'd himself to everlasting fame."

The ministry, with all their might, supported the motion, and that so effectually, that on the 18th of March, the house came to the following resolution :

" Resolved,

" That a printed pamphlet entitled the Crisis,
 " written by Richard Steele, Esq; a member of this
 " house, is a scandalous and seditious libel, containing many expressions highly reflecting upon
 " her Majesty, and upon the nobility, gentry, clergy, and universities of this kingdom maliciously
 " insinuating that the protestant succession in the
 " house of Hanover, is in danger under her majesty's administration ; and tending to alienate
 " the affections of her Majesty's good subjects, and
 " to create jealousies and divisions among them.

" Resolved,

" That Richard Steele, Esq; for his offence in
 " writing and publishing the said scandalous and seditious libel, be expelled this house."

Sir Richard (at that time Mr. Steele) was accordingly expelled, and wrote the following letter to Mr. Foley (in consequence of the part he had acted in

in his expulsion) which I am authorized to warrant has never before appeared in print.

S I R,

THOUGH I am fully satisfied that a letter from me can be but little expected, and less desired, yet I cannot avoid troubling you with my sentiments in relation to your late behaviour in parliament; and must insist upon pressing in this manner, upon your leisure, whether you chuse to give me a hearing, or not.

You have, Sir, exerted yourself in a very extraordinary way, and stooped from your consequence as a gentleman, your freedom as an Englishman, and your dignity as a member of parliament, to become the tool of an administration, which a proper knowledge of yourself in either of the three capacities ought to have compelled you to hate or despise: An administration which, stopping up every passage to the royal ear, has banished all men of worth and honour from her majesty's councils, and filled the first offices of the state with people capable of prosecuting the worst of measures by the worst of means! An administration which could terminate the most glorious war recorded in the history of any age or any nation, by a peace so infamously base, that had our enemies been the victors in the dispute, they would not have thought of proposing terms so scandalous as we have (blest with the highest advantages) meanly stipulated for ourselves. Turn but your eyes, Sir, upon the treatment which the Man has met, to whom all our conquests have been owing, and then, if not as totally divested of feeling for yourself, as lost to all justice for me, ask your own heart, if the people can be either friends to their country, encoura-

gers of virtue, or lovers of mankind, by whom he has been so villainously used?

Your quarrel to me, Sir, has entirely proceeded from my opposition to such measures, and my detestation of such men. Alas, what must he be who would not oppose such an administration? But what must he be who could abet the vilest of their actions, and stoop to the most wretched expedients for carrying on their designs! You have laid a very dangerous foundation for any well-wisher of his country to build upon in after ages, and have set a very fair pattern for future ministers to work upon, to trample upon the laws and liberties of our country, and to sacrifice every person to their vengeance, who has either honesty or fortitude enough to stand up in their defence. If a parliament can be thus moulded, to the most infamous purposes of a tyrannical and arbitrary Minister; if the very people who are placed as the guardians of the public liberty can thus support every ruffian in office who strikes at the vitals of our laws, and expel one of their own members for resisting the villainous attack, I have nothing left but to weep over the ruins of my country, and to lament my existence, at a period when the language of justice is construed into the voice of sedition, and the tendency of disaffection attributed to the arguments of truth.

Alas, Sir, what must that cause be that will not bear an examination, or how can those reasonings be scandalous which are undeniably the dictates of truth! If the conduct of the ministry was irreproachably perfect, they could not be offended at an examination of it; nor did any person merit either
punishment

punishment or disgrace for censuring it if it was not. But, Sir, ministers now-a-days, have a very pretty method of running behind the throne to screen themselves from the odium of the public, and judiciously endeavour to prove, that the fire of every battery directed at themselves is levelled at the dignity of the crown. Thus arrogantly thrusting in the sovereign between themselves and the indignation of the people, they tax the subject with disaffection to the government of the prince, if he presumes to find the smallest fault with any proceedings of their own.

Is it necessary, Sir, to point out the variety of hydra-headed evils that must, inevitably, proceed from so flagrant an abuse of power? The people have no chance to see their sufferings redressed, without pointing them publicly out, and yet is it not a terrible severity that they should be exposed to punishment or disgrace if they do? In the best governments a solicitude for the public favour is absolutely necessary, and when ambitious and designing ministers are the growth of every state, 'tis much more eligible to keep our suspicions everlastingly alive, than by too dutiful and submissive a confidence expose the general welfare to the smallest attack. 'Tis even infinitely better, in a free government, that a good minister should, now and then, be open to the license of the press, than that a bad one should ever have a power of suppressing its liberty, by punishing every author who may be hardy enough to call him to account. In reality, Sir, insolent as people in power may think it to find complaints against their conduct, I am unfashionable enough to believe it more culpable in them to furnish us with the least opportunity

opportunity of making any, and can by no means find out, in this case, how the effect can be more criminal than the cause. In England, Sir, give me leave to tell you that we are born free, and not like cows or horses the property of some despotic master. The sovereign himself is no more than the first member of the community, and owes, to as great a degree as the very meanest, a proper reverence to the laws.

There is one indispensable obligation which every minister is under to the public, and that is, when he proceeds against any author for the writing of a libel, to prove that the accusations of that author are utterly false: For, let me ask, Sir, in the opinion of reason, is it less criminal or unhappy in a minister to be a weak or a wicked man, than for me to call him either the one or the other, if he is?—In my case, Sir, a single argument was not, you are sensible, disproved by the tools of the administration, and the disgrace which followed my pamphlet was not the want of justice in its favour, but the weight of power on the minister's; not the rectitude of his cause, but the unsupported situation of mine.

You are not insensible, Mr. Foley, that tho' the voice of parliament is the legal voice, it is very often far from being the rational voice of the kingdom, and that a number of questions are carried by a great majority within doors, that give universal dissatisfaction without. My expulsion, Sir, therefore, tho' it may give the minister and his friends a triumph over me, is by no means a proof that it will be pleasing to the kingdom. But, indeed, the minister's triumph is not very much to be envied. Despicable as he thinks me rendered by his means, I
would

would not, this moment, for a hecatomb of worlds, change situations with him; in my opinion, next to succeeding in the favour of one's country, the first of all glories is to suffer in its behalf; and while I entertain this opinion, I must look upon my expulsion rather as an honour (however the rest of the world may think of it) than a disgrace. The time will come, Sir, believe me, when my little offering to the welfare of my country, will be judged of without prejudice, and the proceedings of the ministry considered without restraint. At present the sanction of an honest intention, and an upright heart, is a sufficient recompence for my labours, and could the Minister judge of the inestimable satisfaction resulting from such a blessing, I should be infinitely more the cause of his real envy, than the object of his affected contempt.

You, Sir, and the rest of his friends, if you seriously reflect upon the dangers to which your support of his measures has exposed the laws and liberties of your country; if you consider how much you have abridged the sacred rights of parliament, by the expulsion of a fellow member, who was entitled to your justice, tho' he had no claim to your esteem; I say, Mr. Foley, if you consider these things well, and have any regard for the name of Englishman, you must heartily wish that the eighteenth of March was torn from the side of time, and that you had either never sat in parliament, or at least never assisted in driving me out. What will come nearer to your minds than the welfare of the public, perhaps, is the danger in which you have left your own; for my case, in a year or two, may, possibly, be your's; for after this precedent, a minister will find.

find no difficulty of expelling a member, upon the most trivial occasions the moment he secures a majority in the house, and soon reduce the privilege of every commoner in England to a very precarious situation.

That no precedent of this nature may ever be followed in this country, but that every man who speaks the truth, from a real love of the public, may be always sure of protection and esteem, shall be the unceasing prayer of, Sir, (however you may have distinguished yourself against me)

Your humble Servant,

March 21,
1713.

RICHARD STEELE.



N^o 57.

Saturday, AUGUST 12.

Oh Liberty! Oh my Country! CATO.

To the NORTH BRITON.

SIR,

PERMIT me, amongst your numerous readers, to return you thanks for Sir Richard Steele's letter to Mr. Foley, in your last. The public are not only obliged to you for a piece by so eminent a genius, on so important a point, which they might otherwise have, probably, never obtained a sight of, but for giving it them, at a juncture so exceedingly critical. When the second-sighted tools of a tyrannical ministry are every day buzzing in our ears, and strenuously prophesying the expulsion of a popular member at the next meeting in St. Stephen's chapel,

chapel, no publication could be so proper as the sentiments of one who, through the intrigues of power, had been expelled the House of Commons for asserting the liberty of the subject, attacking the unconstitutional measures of a Tory administration, and exposing a most infamous peace after a very glorious and successful War. This letter cannot but recal to our memories the history of an æra when whig-principles called forth not an opposition to the ministry only, but to the majority of peers and commons, with the queen at their head; who were all concerned in a plot then in agitation, against the liberties of our country.

It is an incontrovertible position, that fallibility is inherent in human nature; for which reason, Mr. North Briton, no person in power, of any degree of goodness, can desire that his opinions or directions, as they may possibly be erroneous and productive of general prejudice, should be blindly complied with. No, a candid discussion of the measures of government, and free animadversions upon public affairs, have always been strongly encouraged by wise and amiable princes. Nay, it is even remarkable that tyrants themselves, seldom issue out any orders but under the specious pretext of public good.

It is therefore, Sir, our duty, as well as our interest, to keep, at all times, a jealous eye on the rulers of the state, but it is more especially so when we see the highest offices and first employments filled with the known enemies of freedom, the antient supporters of arbitrary power, and the firm and fast friends of that family which has always aimed at the most unlimited command.



When

When a British administration is composed of Tories, what have we not to fear from men of such ungenerous principles? Attempts to extend the prerogative of the crown, at the expence of the freedom of the people, are sure to be the fatal consequences of their rise to power. Yet nothing can be more certain, than that the prerogative of the crown, and all the state and pageantry of royalty, were solely created for the good of the subject. These wou'd-be Grand Seigniors, indeed, the Tories, regard the people as so many abject creatures, formed for no other purpose but to feed the pride, and pamper the ambition of kings. Passive obedience and non-resistance to the arbitrary will of the prince, are their favourite tenets; and to spin the thread of this tyrannical system as fine as possible, every grandee of this stamp expects from his inferiors the same unlimited submission which they all affirm the sovereign may justly exact from the whole. Nor can it possibly escape our observation, how aptly and artfully this Tory Creed is framed for supporting the stupid political doctrine of Divine Hereditary and Indefeasible Right; since it must naturally follow, that it is utterly impossible that person can forfeit his right to command, whom all are, without any reservation, bound to obey.

The Tories seem, in a great measure, to have founded their favourite tenets on that principle in our law that the king can do no wrong. Armed with this all-powerful weapon, which they are continually drawing in every conversation, and incessantly brandishing in every company, they artfully endeavour to inculcate, that every act of government is the sole act of majesty, and, as the king can
do

do no wrong, that every opposition to public measures, is, consequently, an opposition to majesty itself. But in my opinion, Mr. North-Briton, this very maxim, instead of availing them, in that particular, is point blank against them. Let us examine it. When the law says, the king can do no wrong, it certainly considers him only in his regal capacity. When Sir Richard Steele says, the sovereign in England owes to as great a degree as the meanest, a proper reverence to the laws, he certainly considers him in the light only of the first member of society, a mere individual, and a component part of this great community. By the nature of our constitution, I apprehend a king of England cannot act, in national affairs, of himself, but must have the advice and assistance of constitutional ministers. This is his regal capacity, and therefore the law wisely asserts the king can do no wrong, for his ministers are solely answerable for the consequences of every public measure they advise. This I take to be a proper definition of this celebrated maxim; for, to consider a king merely as an individual, and yet suppose he can do no wrong, is to arrogate to man, that perfection, which cannot exist but in God alone.

That the present ministry, Sir, is a Tory one, in the most notorious and extended sense of the expression, their tyrannical conduct, and your spirited papers, have incontestibly proved: And when we reflect that you have undeniably shewn that our foreign negotiations are entrusted with Frenchmen, that the name of œconomy has been prostituted to sanctify the most extravagant profusion, that our laws have been trampled upon, that the antient friends to the royal family have been driven from the helm,

that their places are filled up by Scotchmen and Stuarts, and that an extension of a most oppressive excise, has filled the breasts of the people with the utmost discontent; I say, when we reflect on these alarming occurrences, what Englishman but must tremble for his freedom! What Whig but must bleed for the constitution of his country!

Human nature, Mr. North Briton, cannot sustain such injuries, without being highly agitated and incensed; and if, in these piercing circumstances, some incautious expressions should slip from our pens, the agony of mind we must inevitably be in at the time, ought sufficiently to plead our excuse. But it is very remarkable that during the course of the late disputes, not the least reflection has appeared on our prince. We have complained, indeed, in the severest, yet most justifiable terms, against that presumptuous favourite the Scotch Dictator, but I challenge the whole tribe of ministerial sycophants to produce one sentence that includes a charge against our amiable sovereign. Our regard for our king has gone hand in hand with our regard for our country. Nor could it be otherwise (unless the whigs had seized, indeed, the consciences of the Tories, and stuck at nothing, how iniquitous soever, to assist and promote their cause) for his majesty's personal virtues are scarcely to be paralleled.

That this is unanswerably true, I believe I may positively aver; and yet the audacious Plain Dealer (a fellow who, though he only started into existence since the deaths of the Auditor and Briton, is already in a galloping consumption!) amongst the rest of his infamous invectives against the defenders of freedom, has falsely accused them of vilifying majesty,
and

and traducing their prince; but the wretch has not produced, nor can he produce, one quotation from the antiministerial writers to countenance his libel.

But the Plain Dealer has another argument to damn his antagonists. "The parliament approved; it is sedition (affirms this insolent and servile hireling) to oppose." Would this fellow have us implicitly imagine a parliament infallible? One parliament not only often annuls the proceedings of another, but the same parliament frequently repeals in the next session, the very act it had passed in the preceding one. No authority can bind us to acknowledge falsehood for truth, or justice for injustice; nor did any ever claim such a blind and brutal submission. Neither the majority of parliament, nor the delusive voice of addressers, can alter the nature of things. What would have become of our liberty, what would have become of the Hanover succession, if the nation at the end of queen Anne's reign, had paid, or been disposed to have paid, a blind and unreserved obedience to the parliament?

In fact, Sir, it is of the minister and his associates, only, that we complain; our prince we honour, and we love. The ministry, we know, are answerable for every act of regal power; from them therefore we expect, and not from the king, a justification, if possible, of every oppression we sustain, and a vindication of every measure we condemn: His majesty's advisers, not his majesty, are our parties. When we complain of a treaty, the complaint is a charge not on the king that consented to it, but the ministry that negotiated it; and when we remonstrate against a law, we mean no reflection on the parliament who passed it, but we level our accusation against

gainst the original framers and promoters of the bill, and the minister that advised the royal assent to be given to the act.

Since, Sir, the right of remonstrating and complaining is the known basis on which our glorious constitution is rested,—the corner stone on which English liberty is built.—What punishment does not this plain-dealing fellow deserve, who infamously attempts to spread so abject a doctrine, that free (or indeed any) animadversions on laws or treaties, are indecent reflections on the sovereign, and manifest evidences of sedition?

If the law stood otherwise, and no man dared to appear in the cause of his country, against Frenchified Statesmen and Scottish Treaty-Makers, his Grace and the Thane might hope, with impunity, one day to negotiate away the rest of our plantations and settlements, and even put Dover Castle into the hands of the French. But, God be praised, the English spirit is not yet broken to that degree, as to render Englishmen afraid of vindicating their rights, or frighten them from the pursuit of bringing these abandoned associates to a strict account for every island they have parted with, and for every inch of the rich ground they have bestowed on the French to the westward of the Mississippi.

Every man, Sir, in the nation, who contributed towards the war, had a specific right of property in our conquests. Grotius, Puffendorff, the French Barbeirac, every writer on the law of nations, and the dictates of reason, assure us that all places that are conquered in a just war, belong to the persons at whose expence they were atchieved. The public,
lic,

lic, Mr. North-Briton, have severely felt at whose charge the late war was supported, and at whose expence every acquisition was made. The public were still willing to continue the war, till it terminated in a permanent and honourable peace. Our fleets and armies were not only able to preserve but extend our conquests. Under such circumstances, was it equitable, was it honest in the minister, to force a brave and generous people to part with their property, without an adequate return?

“ A peace (says the Plain Dealer) in order to be
 “ lasting must be granted to our enemies on generous
 “ terms. We cannot suppose that the French and
 “ Spaniards would long observe a treaty by which
 “ we forced upon them hard and rigorous terms.”
 Strange sophistry to suppose our natural foes are to be conquered by kindness! What politics are these! What reasoning!—it scarce needs a refutation—Must we put power into the hands of our enemies to bind them our friends? Is gratitude so conspicuous a virtue in the French? Fie! Fie!—Well might the Minister observe “ It is no wonder the people
 “ should have an ill opinion of my measures, when
 “ the writers in defence of them are so extremely
 “ ignorant that they hurt my cause more than the
 “ most virulent of my accusers.” In fine, the ministerial scribblers instead of amusing the nation by specious and ingenious arguments (which is the most they could possibly pretend to) really assist in deceiving the public, by a jumble of the greatest incoherences, inconsistencies, and absurdities, that ever issued from the press.

I am,

Mr. North Briton,

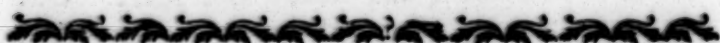
Your constant Reader,

An INDEPENDENT WHIG.

K 3

The

. The North Briton proposes to take proper notice, in his next, of the anonymous advertisement, some time since in all the papers, respecting a pension on the Irish establishment, mentioned in N^o 52.

N^o 58.

Saturday, AUGUST 20.

*Parce bonis, et perde malos, propone quibusq;
Justitiam.*

PROP.

———— *Meretrix est janua mortis.*

HOR.

I WAS in hopes that the remonstrances I some time since made in behalf of the marines, would have prevented any further animadversions on that head: But I find some people affect to be, if they are not absolutely, callous to all reprehension. Indeed a few individuals who began to exhibit a spirit and resolution of obtaining redress, or falling in the attempt, have forced their lordly Bashaws to some little shew of equity, in respect to their own particular cases; but the marine service, in general, I find, not only labours under every hardship heretofore pointed out in this paper, but a variety of others, which, at that time, I did not think necessary to enumerate; for I was in hopes the exposing to the public a few of them, would have shamed the oppressors of the marines into a full removal of all.

But how despicable must those reptile miscreants appear, who so boldly attacked the veracity of the stubborn facts I there advanced, when I acquaint my readers, that numbers of the best officers of every rank in the marines have made, and still are making,

making, application to the most honourable and most respectable Board of Admiralty, for leave to quit their full commissions and retire upon half pay? Is this an incident that could possibly occur in a desirable service? I will venture to affirm that it is a thing unheard of in any other service in Europe. To me it appeared so much beyond all comprehension and belief, that had I not been confirmed in it by the marine list published by authority, I should never have given credit to so uncommon a phenomenon. And what makes it still more extraordinary is, that it should happen at the very time, when more exorbitant sums are given for commissions in the army than ever was known!

But let us see what unprecedented steps have been taken, what tortures invented, to force so valuable a set of men to a step so very singular and unprecedented.

In the month of April last, the term arrangement was substituted for establishment; and the Sea Captains sent to all the Marine Divisions to superintend the proposed reduction. Could any proceeding be more highly absurd than the appointment of people to such an office, who, from the nature of their education must be supposed to be utterly ignorant of the necessary qualifications to form and constitute a good soldier? The consequence has shewn the impropriety of the step.

This new arrangement was attended with an order for the majors to embark as captains, and captains to embark in frigates. This degrading stroke was so exceedingly nouvelle that even the exigencies of the war, during the whole course of it, never rendered it once necessary. For what purpose then, I would ask was such a measure adopted

adopted now? The answer is evident. Either to oblige every man of spirit to quit the service, or to separate them, so as to prevent their having any opportunity of laying their grievances at the foot-stool of majesty.

That something like this was the intention is pretty evident, for upon the new arrangement's taking place, scarce an officer was permitted to remain at the division he formerly belonged to, by which they were not only greatly harassed, but put to a very extraordinary and unnecessary expence in travelling to their new appointed divisions. Many that were enabled by their circumstances to retire, did so. Those few who would not, and all who could not, afford that relief, are, from time to time, without the least prospect of honour, advantage or preferment, hurried to sea.

Another blessed indulgence in the new arrangement is, that officers are allowed only two months leave of absence, when some of them, perhaps, have a thousand miles or more to travel, and have been absent from their families and friends, in the midst of toils and danger, during the whole war. Nor was even this leave granted by it, but under the following restrictions; they must be the last for sea duty; and if they staid beyond the limited time, their pay to be respited; and at last, at the will of their superiors, they were to be put upon half pay. A gentleman of the army, would naturally ask here, What! without a court martial? Alas! His Majesty's commission is not always of authority enough, in the marine corps, to procure an officer the decision of that military tribunal!—It is true this clause was added; if they behaved well, and like good
boys,

boys, they might, upon application to (I suppose supplicating) their masters, be, some time or other, admitted to full pay.

Upon all applications for redress, the Admiralty have constantly returned for answer, "they intended to put the marines as much as possible, on a footing with the navy." I would therefore ask—Are marine officers, on the ladder, climbing to the top of sea preferment? Are lieutenant colonels of marines made captains of men of war? On the contrary, are not admirals and sea captains (equally incompatible!) at the head of the marines? Is this placing the marines, as much as possible, on a footing with the navy? O order! O discipline!

The subjoined memorial (which I publish for the utter confusion of my antagonists) will undeniably shew the sentiments of the marines themselves. It is, verbatim, from that delivered by the Plymouth division. The memorials from Portsmouth and Chatham were expressed in still stronger terms; soliciting (amongst other things) that the establishment might be so altered, as to make the service proper for gentlemen to serve in.

If these just representations have not effect enough to raise a protector to the marine corps, they have yet one dawn of hope left. The establishment, in general, borders so nearly upon a chaos, that, in order to prevent a total confusion, some alterations must be soon made; and the corps may hugg themselves, that any alteration that cannot be for the worse, will probably be for the better.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners
for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of
Great Britain, Ireland, &c. &c.

The humble Representation of the Officers
of the Plymouth Division of Marines,

Sheweth,

THAT the marine officers, conscious of having
ever done their duty with alacrity, and vigour,
in the different parts of the world; where the British
arms have extended our conquests (in testimony of
which they had the honour of your lordships public
thanks, and approbation) cannot help expressing their
alarming concern at being the only visibly neglected
part of his Majesty's Forces.

They had sanguine expectations, that after
the variety of services they had been employed on,
in conjunction with the fleet, and army, during the
course of the war, at the conclusion, the marine
service would have been regulated both in point of
honour, and emolument, on as respectable a footing,
as the other branches of the army: of which they
had the strongest assurances from the board of admir-
alty; at the commencement of the marine establish-
ment, but instead thereof it appears, by your lord-
ships resolution of the 25th of February last, they
are to be confined to a leave of absence so short,
that 'tis impossible for any officer, whose connecti-
ons lye in Ireland, Scotland, or the remote parts of
England to settle his private affairs, much less to
enjoy any society with his relations, and friends;
which they humbly presume to be by no means in-
compatible with their military engagements; and it
being

being very difficult for any man, however determined to be sure of returning to his duty within a limited time; it is presumed their lordships cannot mean a punishment where there is no crime; which must be the case should an officer through the affliction of sickness, contrary winds, or even business of an extraordinary nature, have his pay respited, or lose his commission, in a manner so inconsistent with military laws, and repugnant to the established custom of the army.

As they apprehend rank is a soldier's first and principal aim and that the highest military honours and employments, ought to be aspired to and attainable by every officer to carry him thro' the fatigues, and perils he is daily liable to, how irksome must it be to find themselves limited to the certain degree of a lieutenant colonel's rank and pay; beyond which, the most strenuous exertion of their abilities, and a whole life spent in the complicated hardships of a painful service, both by land and sea, can never hope to raise them.

And as by the new establishment the proportion of field officers is so inadequate to so large a body of men, the prospect of even arriving at that rank, is very remote; and the subaltern officers in particular cannot but think themselves greatly aggrieved, by vacancies not being filled up agreeable to the practice of the army.

They therefore humbly hope this representation will meet with a favourable reception from your lordships; and be productive of such regulations, as may render the marine corps equally eligible, advantageous, and respectable with any other branch of his majesty's forces.

I now

I now come to my promise of taking notice of an anonymous advertisement which some time since made its appearance in all the papers; and lest all of my readers may not have seen it, or it may have slipped the memories of some who have, as well as to avoid the imputation of partiality, I will insert the advertisement, or, if you please, the letter, itself; for it was sent to the papers under that form, but obliged to be paid for. “Whereas a most impudent and malicious insinuation appeared in the North Briton of Saturday last, N^o. 52. importing that a certain pension, on the Irish establishment has been lately granted by his majesty; I think proper to send you these few lines that the public may be disabused. No such pension has been granted; none such was ever asked, or even thought of, but by the author of the falsehood, who, for the purpose of defamation invented it, and has since presumed to offer it to the public as a real fact. July 11, 1763” I believe my readers may easily see through this fallacious, equivocating, production. I shall pass by the writer’s presumptuous lugging in of his majesty’s name; that trick to cover the behaviour of others, is now become too stale to carry any force with it. But pray observe—No such pension has been granted, none such was ever asked. Indeed I freely acknowledge my mistakes (I wish our hopeful administration would as readily do the same by theirs) none such, it is true, has been granted, none such asked. That our celebrated madam has not got a pension of 400l. a year only, is most certain; that she never asked a pension of 400l. a year only, may be equally a truth; and that she does not hold a pension of any sort in her married name is an undeniable fact.

Now

Now I mention her married name, I cannot resist remarking that I think it the highest effrontery in her to assume it in her present situation. I scarcely know whether her publicly living with another man is a more flagrant outrage to modesty.

I again acknowledge that I was too premature in my assertions respecting the pension, and trusted too much to a secret Dublin report. But can any of my readers suppose that a lady of so unbounded an influence, and who has already served so many of her friends on the Irish establishment (which I will undeniably prove if called upon) would be so disinterested as not to think of herself? However to cut this matter as short as possible, I should be glad to know for what purposes, and for what services, a pension (if my memory fails not, of six hundred and twenty five pounds) has been granted in the name of Hen. Wanchope?

To the NORTH BRITON.

SIR,

I LIVE in a distant county, and have but few opportunities of seeing your writings. You therefore must not wonder that I have but just met with that paper of yours in which you mention a late military court of Inquiry. Give me leave to tell you that your account was a little defective, and that you have not acquainted the world with the principal criminal. A very famous Agent or rather an engrosser of Agencies, was proved before that court to have been guilty of very unwarrantable practices, and a disgraceful sentence was accordingly passed on him. How that sentence has been suppressed, tho confirmed, I cannot say; but as you have assumed

the honest and commendable part of exposing military oppressions and frauds, it becomes you to enquire into that secretion, and to lay it open to the public, who will feel great indignation, when they hear that one of the bravest and most meritorious commanders in the sea-service, had like to have suffered considerably in his property, by the dexterity of that extraordinary monopolist. I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

A. E.



N^o 59.

Saturday, AUGUST 27.

Corruptio optimi pessima est.

ARIST.

SO far back as we can trace, in history, any certain accounts of the several nations which, in their turn, have made a shining figure in the world, it is apparent that the flourishing condition, and superiority of situation, has been entirely owing to the excellency of their national constitution. Wherever civil and religious liberty took place, there the people were brave and laborious; arduous to face every danger, and willing to bear every fatigue, for the sake of that government under which they enjoyed such inestimable blessings. On the other hand, wherever tyranny and despotism prevailed, the people were pusillanimous and indolent; backward to fight, and loth to toil in support of a constitution, which their interest led them rather to wish to see annihilated than preserved.

Whether

Whether we look into the history of Greece, Rome or Carthage, we find that superiority in war has almost ever gone hand in hand with public freedom ; and that that nation which was most free, was almost always the most victorious.

Thus we see the small republics of Greece not only successfully maintaining their independency, and that of their allies, against the numerous fleets and astonishing armies of the stupendous empire of Persia, but also gradually reducing the land and maritime force of the Persians, 'till under Alexander the Great, the Grecians made an absolute conquest of that vast kingdom ; at last the freedom of Greece itself fell a sacrifice to the ambition of her tyrants, and the total destruction of Grecian power soon followed the loss of public liberty.

The Romans, the next guardians of liberty, soon extended their empire over Greece, Egypt, and the conquests of Alexander in Asia. Nor could even Carthage, though in part republicans, resist the Roman ardour. The spirit of freedom, which animated these hardy Africans, enabled them, indeed, for a considerable time, nobly to struggle for their liberty ; but their intestine broils (which the Aristocratical part of their constitution entailed upon them) ripened them for destruction, and soon rendered them entire victims to the superior genius of Rome. Again ; the Roman power survived, for a few ages only, that liberty which seemed to hold, as it were, success and victory in chains. Julius Cæsar subverted the constitution of his country, and subjected the Romans to an arbitrary and military government ; and the consequent loss of her liberty was, that in the fourth century from Cæsar, the Goths and Vandals

dals over-ran that empire, which, while it was free, knew no bounds to power, and owned no limits to dominion.

The histories of England afford us many striking instances of this nature. The party that fought for their country, in civil broils, has always been victorious over the faction which laboured to enslave it; and in the wars between England on one side, and France and Scotland on the other, the champions for freedom have ever borne away the glory of the battle, and fixed the standard of liberty on the accumulated trophies of the field.

Since then it is evident that the constitution of a country has an amazing influence on the disposition and abilities of the people, who are bred and fostered under it, it will necessarily follow that all the murmurs, great and universal as they have been against the rising power of the Scots, are no more than the honest remonstrances of a free people, who, wisely jealous of their liberties, have justly endeavoured to remove from power, those persons that from nature and education must inevitably be prompted to subvert them.

By the articles of the union, the Scots, are invited to partake of the sweets of freedom, and accept of that happiness which is inseparable from English liberty. But our ancestors too tender of their senseless, though dangerous prejudices in favour of their French model of government, permitted them, pro tempore, to retain so much of their laws as regulated property and guarded private right, but expressly stipulated that their whole law and constitution should be subject to such alterations as a British parliament

parliament should, from time to time, think proper to make. This provision was made in the generous hope that time, and a distinct view of the many advantages attendant on that most excellent species of government, to which the English are subject, would have moved the Scots, of themselves, to request that so noble a system of laws might be extended to the barren soil of Scotland; by which an utter extinction of their slavish principles might be effected, and they rendered worthy of that near and friendly intercourse with freemen, which they then seemed so strenuously to aspire to.

But experience has proved to demonstration that these professed admirers of despotism, are not to be persuaded into that heaven-born disposition which animates a free people; and which from their being now incorporated with them, might have been naturally expected from them. The tenacious adherence of the Scots to the principles of their ancestors is manifested on every occasion; nor do they ever let an opportunity slip of praising the civil law of Justinian, and partially preferring that inconsistent jumble of Ethics to our admirable constitution. They have adopted, indeed, with France the law of Rome—but how?—Not of Rome free, but Rome enslaved; of Rome when groaning under the tyranny of her Cæsars! A law that declares the monarch *Solutus Legibus*, i. e. free from the restraint of laws! a law that approves of subjecting the accused to tortures, to draw from them a confession of crimes, which perhaps they were never guilty of! Finally, a law that vests every criminal judge with the arbitrary and hated authority once exercised in the Star Chamber in England, and now in its full extent, in the high commission court of Scotland!

Since the treaty of union took place the English parliament has abolished their tortures, and removed the tyrannical power of the chieftains. But yet, so unaccountably great is the veneration of the Scots for their antient customs and hereditary oppressors, numbers of them, to this day, proclaim their desires to see the first fully re-established ; and the latter re-instated in their former privileges ; a pit, a gallows, and an iron chain (those blessed ensigns of Scotch nobility !) again adorning the gate of every laird !

This meanness of mind, this abjectness of temper, this baseness of disposition, so repugnant to the nature of Englishmen ! unites the Scots in one grand confederacy against the English constitution, and impels them to exercise every insidious art to traduce the defenders of liberty, impugn the equity of the laws which protect that liberty, and (by their wretched tools of scriblers) to decry every performance, and every writer, that generously endeavours to support and protect the freedom of this country.

To this source is owing those worthless productions the Plain Dealer in England (which I sufficiently animadverted upon a paper or two ago) and the South Briton in Scotland. The first points his rage at the bulk of the people, and the other libels our laws, and accuses them of iniquity. It may not be unnecessary to acquaint my readers that the supreme courts in Edinburgh have the press in their power, and can whenever they please, in the most arbitrary and summary manner, punish any author, printer, or publisher, who shall dare to deliver any sentence, which may give displeasure to persons of their high authority. From hence, it must naturally follow, that whatever is published there, without their cen-
sure,

sure, is entirely consonant to their opinion; and as the South Briton made its appearance at Edinburgh whilst their supreme courts were absolutely sitting, and as they took no exception to any thing contained therein, it can be no straining of the argument to consider that infamous, though paltry performance, as the real and united voice of the Scotch nation.

This premised, I shall lay before my readers, the Scotch manner of representing this important crisis in England, not with a desire to refute such idle fallacy, and such shameless and remarkable falsehoods, but solely with the view of giving the English a true idea of the people they have to deal with, in this painful struggle for liberty, and that they may see how regularly the attack is carried on against English freedom on both sides of the Tweed, at one and the same time.

“ The minister [Mr. Pitt] thinking proper (says the South Briton) to throw up the reins of administration, the earl of Bute, a nobleman whose abilities had never been disputed, was appointed to that important office. Faction now, ever watchful to lay hold of the earliest opportunity of rearing her opprobrious head, began to whisper that he was a Scotchman, and from thence to infer, as by prescience, a partiality to his own countrymen, and a strong opposition to all the measures of the preceding minister.—The many-headed multitude, for a while, caught the clamour; but, after some time, when none of these prophecies appeared to be fulfilled, when no Englishman with merit, was found to be rejected; and no Scotsman without it, promoted; impartiality again resumed her seat, and the abilities and integrity of the new minister were universally

versally acknowledged." Were ever such a set of glaring falsehoods strung together !

But let us hear him farther—Speaking of the peace, he says, " At this very period, natural malevolence, the fear of starving and hopes of a pension, roused up two venal scriblers to sow the seed of sedition and discontent against the minister. Their earliest attacks were made on his personal and moral character, by insinuations of a nature that it would be as infamous to repeat, as it was villainous to invent them. Grown desperate of obtaining their venal purposes, they proceeded to the most indecent lengths ; and when at last for giving the lie to the king, and impeaching even the understanding of the most august assembly on earth, the person of one of them was justly thrown into confinement, which it is a pity the lenity of our laws would not permit to be perpetual ; he has ever since by the most inflammatory, base, and seditious libels, and an insidious clamour for liberty, endeavoured to prevail on the people of England to believe, that his just punishment is an infringement of the liberty of the subjects in general ; and that all the rights of Englishmen have been invaded by the power of an undue Scotch influence." The writer then sums up all, by asking " if this is not rebellion ?"

This specimen of Scottish doctrine shews the true disposition of the Scots. They quarrel with that law which is our chief glory, and not only justify an imprisonment which the law and the public have long determined to be arbitrary and illegal, but are even so tyrannical as to wish it had been perpetual. They give the name of seditious libels to spirited oppositions to Scottish oppression ; and know no difference

ence between rebellion, and a just discontent at a most inadequate peace, and a most abandoned minister. Remonstrating against laws that levy taxes against the privileges granted by Magna Charta, and the rights of Englishmen, is, with them, impeaching the understanding of the most august assembly on earth, though I believe never parliament yet laid claim to infallibility. And, to crown all, they tell us that the abilities of lord Bute were never disputed, "though his incapacity for a minister of state is admitted in every place, but Scotland." In fine, if this writer, as is reported, is an Englishman; in him we may see how dangerous the prevalence, and how contagious the conversation, of the Scots; since they can engage a man born and educated free, to assume the stile, and patronize the sentiments of slaves. In this tool every Englishman may view that corrupt, that abject state and degenerated debasement of sentiment that must universally prevail in England, if some effectual stop is not immediately put to Scottish pestilential influence.

TO THE MEMORY
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES WYNDHAM,
EARL OF EGREMONT,
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRE-
TARIES OF STATE,

Who departed this Life August 21, 1763,

This P A G E

OF THE
NORTH BRITON

IS DEDICATED BY

The AUTHOR.

" *Is that the hand that smote me? Heav'n's bow*
" *And art thou dead? so is my enmity.* [pale !
" *I war not with the dust.*
" *This was thy ONLY method to subdue me.*

YOUNG.
N^o 60.



N^o 60. Saturday, SEPTEMBER 3.

*Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.*

JUV.

THE despicable tools of the overbearing Highlander at last make a discovery, with which every man of common understanding has long been acquainted, namely, that they are utterly incapable of the offices which they have so greatly scandaliz'd, and therefore judiciously retire for fear of meeting the vengeance as well as the detestation of a much injured, brave, and generous people.

'Tis a matter of no little satisfaction to the North Briton, that his poor endeavours in the service of his country have been some way instrumental to effect this desirable change in government, and that the variety of blunders which he pointed out, during the open administration of the Scot, have convinced the public of the Thane's inability to rule either despotically by himself or to guide with any degree of decency in the persons of his narrow-minded creatures. Whatever the ministerial scribblers may think, or however they endeavour to misrepresent him, the North Briton will continue a voluntary champion in the cause of the public, and think it the happiest moment of his life, if he can be any way serviceable to a monarch whom he really venerates, or of the least utility to a country which he truly loves.

If we reflect, ever so little, on the present situation of the administration, we shall see how truly contemptible

contemptible those mercenary wretches appear, who have exerted their utmost abilities to prove the arrogant Scot, and his train of English apostates, the first of our ministers and the best of men. They have, for a long time, insisted, that the late peace was infinitely the best which was ever concluded for these kingdoms; have dwelt with all the noisy elocution of much virulence, and small abilities, on the expediency of the cyder act; and thundered out the innumerable anathemas of prejudice and faction against the glorious minority by whom the destructive measures were opposed. The public money was lavished upon writers, as poor in their circumstances, as narrow in their understandings, to paint Mr. Pitt an injudicious and overbearing minister; every argument was made use of to represent my Lord Duke of Newcastle as a statesman no less inattentive to the interest of the public than regardless of his own, and we all know with how uncommon a sedulity, the most amiable nobleman in the British dominions was traduced, for signing his opinion of our national affairs, and submitting it, in a manner no less respectful than candid, to the judgment of his king.

Among the multitude of despicables who received the wages of infamy on these occasions we find the names of Smollet and Murphy. The first of these worthy gentlemen was one of Mr. Pitt's most strenuous admirers, and the history of England, which he was about compiling, during the administration of that illustrious personage, he dedicated particularly to Mr. Pitt; professing it one of his principal views, to preserve the memory of a period, when the English name had arisen to the highest pitch of glory, by the consummate wisdom, and amazing resolution of that gentleman; yet Mr. Pitt had no soon-

er dissented in opinion from the Scot than the good doctor Smollet took up the cudgels for his countryman; and not to say any thing of his weekly lucubrations in the political way, took every opportunity of calumniating the character and depreciating the abilities, of that very person whose patronage he had thus publicly solicited, and for whom he had, in so solemn a manner, expressed the highest admiration.

This behaviour was indeed such as might be expected from a Scottish writer; duplicity of dealing, or meanness of spirit, were not much to be wondered at in a native of Scotland: they are the true characteristic of the country; the distinguishing badge of the people; and, in reality, instead of being surprized that he acted in so prevaricating a manner, it would be absolutely wonderful if he had not.

But that a native of Ireland, a man born in a country peculiarly distinguished for the greatness of its soul, and the generosity of its sentiments; that a native of such a country, should, I say, stoop to be an advocate for a tyrannical Scot, or an arbitrary and oppressive minister, is a circumstance which entitles him to the detestation of every honest native of that kingdom, as well as the sharpest resentment of all the inhabitants of this.

Mr. Murphy, little a share of understanding as he may possess, is, however, unpardonable for so monstrous a degeneracy of sentiment; and poor an opinion as we must entertain of his abilities, he has no apology left for rendering himself more contemptible in becoming an advocate for such a cause! — A cause where even the very wages of disgrace were

mutilated upon every occasion, and no opportunity omitted to curtail or lop them off.

I have a question or two to ask of this gentleman in this place, Did he, or did he not, ever receive a pension of three hundred pounds a year, to support the cause of the Scot, in every respect as a minister and as a man?

When it was impossible for even a good writer to succeed in so arduous an undertaking, much less for him to answer the intended effect, Was this pension, or was it not, stopped, and our unfortunate author sent about his business?

Did he, or did he not, upon this, apply for a considerable sum, which was due for printing these paltry defences of the administration? And was not this application treated with contempt, and the person who made it told, that the three hundred pounds pension was allowed to answer for all losses and contingencies in that respect?

Upon this, was not the ministerial hireling in the highest disgust? And does Mr. Murphy, or does he not, now, exclaim as much against the Scot, and his creatures, as any person whom he formerly condemned for an illiberality of expression, or an opposition to their designs? O shame where is thy blush! O honour where is thy terror at disgrace!

When the advocates of the Scot are any way introduced, it would be an act of injustice if the name of David Malloch was omitted or forgot. This gentleman has gibbeted up the name of lord Bute to the eye of the public, in a manner which even his lordship might redden but to think of, much less suffer

suffer to be read. If the worthy Thane has any sensible friends, notwithstanding he is thus hung in literary irons, they have one consolation to support them on this occasion, which is, that there is no great probability of Mr. Malloch's reaching posterity, and consequently no great chance for immortalizing his lordship's disgrace, at least on this head. The bard, or politician, call him which you will, is, however much more fortunate than his sensible fellow labourer: A place of eight hundred a year in the customs has repaid all his industry in favour of the Thane; from which we may see that even in the rewards of venality, his lordship was constantly partial to his own countrymen.

A slight review of the fundamental arguments upon which these gentlemen have raised such a heap of political rubbish, will at once sufficiently expose themselves, and give us a perfect idea of those immaculate statesmen whom they have so industriously laboured to defend.

In the first place, the pacification treaty was by much the best ever concluded in these kingdoms, and such as Mr. Pitt and his boasted assistants had neither spirit enough to demand, nor power sufficient to maintain, notwithstanding the mighty clamour which was raised about their integrity and abilities.

In the next place, our good and gracious Sovereign, conscious of that rectitude of conduct, and profundity of wisdom, which appeared in every proceeding of the Scottish administration, was determined never to sacrifice his faithful servants to popular complaints, or factious accusations; but, on the contrary, generously resolved to continue them

in their offices, and make the people happy in spite of their teeth.

In the third, Mr. Pitt was a minister of so turbulent and ambitious a disposition, that he was constantly breeding dissensions among the great officers of the state; and never satisfied unless he was insolently dictating to his master. To this cast of temper it was universally asserted he owed his resignation; malice and envy themselves never daring to tax him with a want of wisdom and integrity.

That his opposition to the treaty of peace, and his endeavours against the excise act, were instances of the utmost disrespect; nay proofs of the greatest aversion to his sovereign, and such as ought for ever to exclude him from any share in the councils of these kingdoms.

Now for the proof of all these mighty assertions, which shall be drawn from the premises themselves, and naturally result from the scope of their own arguments.

If the Scottish administration was, according to the opinion of the Scottish advocates, composed of people so eminently distinguished for the honesty of their hearts and the soundness of their understandings, in the name of wonder, how comes it, that we hear of their being either turned, or to be turned out of their employments, especially after they had gained us a glorious peace, and blest us with an excise act, no less advantageous to the kingdom, than honourable to themselves?

The minds of the people, though easily misled, are not apt to continue, very long, in an error,
where

where the principles of right and wrong are so evidently obvious, as the herd of Scottish Scriblers impudently tell us they appear in the present peace. I will give them, if they please, the whole scope of their argument, and allow (what no true or sensible lover of his country can ever think of seriously allowing) that faction and clamour might at first wantonly, and inconsiderately, rail against the peace, from a just conception of the abilities and integrity of the minister; but had this been the case, the invectives which rose without foundation, would quickly hasten to an end. The resentment which was unjustly occasioned would have gradually subsided of course, and we should, by this time, have heard nothing but sentiments of moderation, or expressions of content, from every mouth which is now busied in execrating the conductors of the peace, and calling them the enemies of their king, and the betrayers of their country.

Nay, if we consider matters in their actual light, is it not the greatest condemnation of the Scottish administration that they are to be displaced in favour of the people that most strenuously opposed their measures, and is it not apparent, from this disposition, that our gracious and august monarch looks upon them to be utterly unfit for the direction of government, and is convinced how destructive the path of power is, which they so indefatigably pursued? They don't resign, as Mr. Pitt and lord Temple did, through an honest choice, or a just resentment, but are driven from the employments which they have so scandalously disgraced by the spirited complaints of a freeborn people, and the proper consideration of a prince, whose principal glory it is to possess the hearts of that people, as securely as:

the sceptre of his kingdom; though he might entertain a high opinion of their integrity, for some time, on account of the unbounded greatness of his own.

From this reflection it will naturally follow, that whoever advised the removal of our patriot administration, and effected any points which that administration laboured to defeat, has acted in a diametrical contradiction to the interest of his country; and shamefully sacrificed the glory of his king. The blessed effects of the peace are already appearing, and it is the business of every honest Englishman to see the conductors of it called to a proper account, though they should skulk under the veil of a paltry resignation to screen their opprobrious heads.

Notwithstanding the boasted advantages accruing from this pitiful Scottified peace, and notwithstanding the mighty solidity with which it was reported to be built, does not another war appear almost unavoidable at this hour? And is it not an almost indisputable circumstance that we must immediately break with the French? Our colonies, in the interior parts of America, are every day laid waste by the Frenchified Indians, and our subjects barbarously murdered, hitherto, without any appearance of resentment, or tokens of revenge. The cruelties exercised upon our countrymen at the Havannah condemn the Scottish junto up to heaven, and call aloud for vengeance on their heads; tho', as yet, no notice has been taken of the unhappy sufferers, and no regard declared for their distress.

However, the period is, happily, at hand, which gives us an administration capable of conducting a
glorious

glorious war, and able to conclude a really honourable peace. An administration who have wisdom and integrity sufficient to recover our affairs from the confusion in which they are absorbed, provided the Scot has not totally plung'd us in irrecoverable difficulties, and put it out of all human capability to afford us the necessary relief. Tremble then, ye guilty wretches, who swell beneath the load of unexpiated crimes, and shudder at that vengeance now opening on your heads, by the loss of the Royal Favour, to which all the people heartily say, AMEN.

N. B. The reader will find that the North-Briton has all along spoken as if the patriot administration was, at this instant in power; because he knows they may enter into the government, and are actually courted to do so every minute: But as they insist upon particular concessions which every Englishman is materially concerned in, and require an examination into proceedings which may be fatal to the Favourite; the public are requested, if they should not choose to enter into power, not to think the North-Briton deficient in his knowledge of facts, or ridiculous in his arguments, since the very offers which they have received, prove the badness of the Scottish ministry, though the alteration does not take place, as much as if it absolutely did.

N^o 61.

Saturday, SEPTEMBER 10.

Salus populi, suprema lex.

CICERO.

IT was a maxim amongst the Athenians, that when a man had acquired any uncommon degree of popularity, riches, influence, &c. he might, by these means, one day, effect the subversion of public liberty; and, was, consequently, to be esteemed as a dangerous member to the community. To guard against such a fatal stroke to their free and happy constitution, they established their famous law of Ostracism; by which those persons who were so become offensive to the state, were banished, unheard, from their native country.

In the same case, the Romans forbid such persons the use of fire and water in Italy, and sometimes even decreed them to be slain by the first citizen who met them.

From hence it naturally follows that public liberty should be esteemed beyond every other consideration in life, or a people so wise and generous as the Athenians and Romans were, would never have held it so rigidly sacred, as to punish a man for a crime he had not committed; and which it was only probable, that, some time or other, he possibly might be guilty of.

But if the preservation of public liberty can warrant such preventative proceedings, surely an absolute attack upon that inestimable jewel must render the guilty person eligible to a proscription in the
most

most extended sense of the word!—Nay,—The universal consent of all nations, and the primary dictates of reason assure us, that the safety of every individual depends on that of the state, and that a man may legally kill the person who unlawfully robs him of his liberty or property; from whence this deduction must be unavoidably made, that any individual may lawfully destroy the man who attacks the freedom of that community of which he is a member; because, in that case, he kills to preserve his own liberty and property.—To carry it still farther.—As an attack upon personal liberty and property, is, by no means, so dangerous as an attack upon the laws that were framed to secure both, it must be universally allowed, that the man who daringly makes so atrocious an attempt, merits detestation from every heart, and death from every hand. However, this is but a mere matter of speculation; I would upon no account, be understood to enforce the practice. I have only endeavoured to shew the equity of such a procedure against so heinous a criminal; but I am not to learn the fatal consequences which would inevitably ensue from the least abuse of so great a power. The law has, therefore, wisely taken the execution of justice on itself, declared against any act of that nature in an individual, and subjected the party so offending to the same punishment, as if he had pursued the life of a person entirely innocent.

So strongly are the principles of freedom engraven on the breasts of Englishmen, that tyrannical ministers have many of them felt their effects, before they were aware of the intended blow; and some oppressive favourites have been banished, even without

out a trial. But in this age we have seen with astonishment, the most odious measures adopted and pursued, and the detested adviser of those destructive proceedings, arrogantly lording it, with impunity, in direct opposition to the united voice and clamours of a whole nation.

We all know, and can point out, the man, that has caused a division between our gracious sovereign, and the most faithful of his servants; between the members of the legislature and the body of the people; the man who has blasted our laurels by an inglorious peace; and, finally, the man who yet supports a formidable barrier between the throne, and those honest patriots, whose advice alone can possibly prevent the dreaded effects of his pernicious counsels. The present age must believe, what they know and feel; but will our annals be credited by posterity, when they are told that a minister, after proving himself so abandoned to virtue, so lost to honour, and so dead to patriotism, still found means to shield himself from the fury of the people, and the justice of the law? However, the wiles and devices which have so long fascinated the first of princes, and the best of men, begin to lose their force of witchery. The charm is broken. The arts of the Scot have, at length, lost every power of captivating, though they may a little while longer continue to persuade.

The unnational measures of the Thane and his creatures have brought on such confusion amongst themselves, and occasioned such disorder in the state, as to render it absolutely necessary to form an administration entirely composed of the favourites of the people. Their attendance was no sooner required, than their duty to their amiable monarch, and their
love

love for their bleeding country, engaged them to obey the summons: But the Scottish Faction, though fully convinced of their incapacity for government—Curses on their insatiable ambition!—were by no means weary of power. Some leaven must be left in the lump; with the hopes, in time, I suppose, of infecting the whole. They would not resign, but were willing to share the rule. They would bargain for their favourite measures, and contract for the continuance of their wretched dependants. In short, their final aim was, that the patriot members by not enquiring into their actions, should tacitly sanctify their proceedings; and by not scrutinizing into their behaviour, should justify an administration that had wounded the glory of the Sovereign, the freedom of the people, and the interest of the nation.

On the other hand, the patrons of public liberty steadily refused to unite themselves, in any shape whatever, with those shadows of ministers, the associates of the Scot. They submissively required a delegated authority to nominate some particular gentlemen to offices, on whose abilities they could fully rely, and on whose assistance they could amply depend: Gentlemen who would join with them in promoting and carrying into execution such plans, and such alone, as they could justly answer for, to their king, their country, and their own consciences. And, lastly, they firmly insisted that a legislative enquiry should be made into the late fatal negotiation; in order, if any unwarrantable and treacherous practices should be discovered, that the detested author of them might suffer the punishment due to his crimes.

If it is possible to heighten the public opinion of our late glorious minister; if it is in nature to add to the universal regard for the man who almost necromantically raised us from despondency to conquest; it must have been by witnessing the behaviour, and attending to the arguments of that unshaken patriot, when urging the necessity of an impeachment. How should we have rejoiced to hear him declare to this effect! "The honour and interest of my country appear so obviously and deeply concerned in my enforcing this incumbent step, that nothing can tempt me to swerve from my duty in promoting, to the extent of my power, a measure of such important consequence to ourselves, and our posterity. The highest preferment of the state shall never shake my constancy in this particular; and though I were this moment appointed the first servant of the crown, nothing should engage me from strenuously moving it in one house, and then carrying it up to the bar of the other."

Can we turn back to past occurrences without shuddering at the retrospection, and applauding, in the most animated terms, this steady resolution of the honest patriot? Before the earl of Bute stalked into power, all, at home, was quiet and united. No other contest existed than an arduous emulation to attack, and distress the common foe. Even the Scots seemed to have lost, or at least suspended, their affection for France; and his majesty's subjects universally appeared to concur in one and the same design. Assistance was every where demanded, from south to north, and every where given. But no sooner was his lordship at the head of the administration, than his countrymen, almost to a man, joined in a body to defend,

defend, implicitly, every measure he advised, and extol, unexamined, every plan he pursued. This unwarrantable partiality naturally enflamed [the bosoms of the English; old, and almost forgotten seeds of dissention were revived; and quarrels long ago buried, were once again called into life! In this manner is the Scot the great and guilty occasion of that discord which now, unhappily, so strongly disunites the subjects of the best of princes; by these means has he poisoned the quiet of a gracious sovereign who reigns in the hearts of a free and loyal people; and though both king and nation have only one governing view, and one ultimate design, namely, to settle an administration that are ready, and able, to redress our grievances, once more make us formidable to our enemies, and respectable in the eyes of the world, yet have his ensnaring presence and deceitful counsels (fallen as they are in their influence!) hitherto baffled every attempt towards that desirable and salutary end.

That the members of the opposition have no other views than the glory and happiness of their monarch, and the honour and welfare of their country, surely calumny itself cannot now have the hardness to dispute. If interest had been their object, if their fervent devotions had been paid to that general idol of the Scots, what prevented the consummation of their wishes? They were invited to possess the first preferments in the government, and courted to accept the most lucrative emoluments in the state. Yet they nobly withstood the alluring bait, and generously disdained to come into power on terms repugnant to the patriot cause which convened and cemented them together. Thus have they given their countrymen the surest and most authentic evidence,

possible, that honours and advantages, are, with them, but secondary considerations, and that their first and great incentive for entering again into ministerial employments, is that of the Public Good.

Upon the whole.—Whilst England can boast of such peers as Temple, Devonshire, &c. &c. and exult in such commoners as Pitt, she cannot utterly sink by secret machinations, intestine jars, or foreign foes. She may totter, indeed, through treachery, but the vigilance of our patriots will never suffer her to fall. A wicked minister may endeavour to skulk behind a throne, or shield himself within the walls of a palace, but during the existence of so distinguished and formidable an association, that term must be very short. The day of account will certainly come, when the actions of an overbearing favourite will be properly enquired into, by that august assembly whose honour is too much interested in every national concern to suffer any high crimes and misdemeanors, if any such appear, to pass unpunished. The nation may rely on the firmness of the patriotic opposers of the Scot; and that they will never desert the paths of honour, or recede from the cause of their country, but unweariedly pursue their present determinations, till they have fully effected the glorious purposes for which they associated. 'Tis ours, with becoming gratitude, to honour their names and families; assist them, in our respective stations, to the utmost of our power; infuse the like sentiments into the breasts of our fellow-subjects; and never cease encouraging each other in the important conflict, till we have finished the contest, by driving from the helm the trembling herd, who now scarcely retain even the resemblance of an administration.

As to the Thane himself I will take the liberty of reminding him of two or three particulars, and offering him a word or two of advice. I have shewn at the beginning of the paper, that the wisest nations history has acquainted us with, have held it legal and equitable to banish from their country, without a hearing, those who had, by any means, become obnoxious thereto. Even the English annals are not sparing of instances of this nature. Gaveston the Younger, Spenser, Clarendon and others, were banished, by parliament, without a trial. From thence it is evidently certain, that in England, a minister, when he is become universally odious to the people, may be legally expelled the kingdom, without the proving upon him the actual committing of even a single crime. It is therefore my serious and friendly advice, that he sets out, with the most convenient speed, on his intended tour abroad; and by a voluntary banishment of himself, that he prevents, if possible, a step so big with danger, so fraught with ignominy, and so destructive to his fame.

X.

•• Several letters have been received, and are now under consideration.

•• The North Briton is particularly obliged to Britannicus for his hint. His correspondent is, however, requested to recollect that in the present situation of affairs, it is utterly impossible for him to draw any advantage from it.

N^o 62.

Saturday, SEPTEMBER 17.

Dum licet injusto subtrabe colla jugo.

PROP.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

IF you have not any thing more immediately temporary (for more highly important you cannot have) to lay before your readers, I must beg you will give the following a place, this week.

We have been told, and it has never been contradicted, that our hopeful administration have placed our new subjects in Florida under the government of Scotchmen; but as the Gazette has not been dishonoured by notifying so partial and flagrant an appointment, I am still in hopes it is either nothing more than a mere report, or that it is not carried so far into execution but the design may yet be prevented, by shewing how incongruous it is to justice, how repugnant to Policy, and how baneful to Liberty.

As it cannot possibly be supposed, that the inhabitants of these Provinces will meet with a more equitable, or lenient treatment, than the people in Scotland experience from their own countrymen, who are invested with a jurisdiction over them, I shall present you with a few anecdotes which, at the same time that they tend to display in a proper light, that wisdom which of late has been every where so apparent in the acts of the state, will incontestably shew

show how exceedingly well calculated a Scottish administration is, to reconcile the minds of the Floridans to their new masters, and convince them of the superior blessings of an English constitution! The truth of these anecdotes, for they are notorious facts, may be fully depended upon, and I doubt not but they will prove the Scots as eminently conspicuous for Justice at home, as for Oeconomy abroad.

The various arts of corruption that are daily and openly exercised beyond the Tweed, not only in the court of session, but in every of their civil courts, supreme and subordinate, have afforded us, Mr. North Briton, many speaking proofs of that spirit of oppression that prevails wherever a Scotsman strides in to power. To illustrate this assertion the more strongly, I must beg to carry you a few ages back, that you may see in their origin those practices, which fix their predominant character at present.

Lord Halkerston, one of their judges in their supreme court, had a small estate in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to which in the time of vacation, it was constantly his custom to retire. During this recess from public business, my Lord was frequently consulted in private, by his country neighbours, and others, about their several differences, and those who were best able to plead their cause (not those who had the best cause to plead) were sure of his lordship's award; which seldom failed to put a final end to the dispute, as few persons were there to be found who would be so hardy as to refuse submission to so venerable an authority.

I know, Sir, that in England, an English judge would have told those who applied to him, that he was not a counsel ; and severely rebuked them for making such preposterous applications. But his Scotch Lordship wisely acted in a different manner ; and established a precedent which the generality of the judges of that part of our island have, to this day, most religiously followed.

This being Lord Halkerston's constant practice in the country, and no man, who had obtained the favourable opinion of this most upright of judges, ever failing of his protection, his lordship was not the least surprized when one of his own tenants applied to him concerning an affair which had just then occurred ; and in which he, as the phrase is there, stood in need of his wise laird's countenance and favour.

The peasant, without any apologetical preface, informed his Lordship, that his neighbour's cattle had broke into his orchard, devoured his fruit, injured his trees, and done him other considerable prejudice ; that he should be glad to know how the law stood in this case, and what reparation he might legally expect from the damage sustained ?

The Judge, Sir, very learnedly and largely expounded the law to his tenant—told him the fine his neighbour might be amerced in ; which he highly ascertained from the strength of the wall that fenced in the inclosure—added to the whole an exorbitant sum as an equivalent for damages and repairs—expatiated on the justice of the law—and, at last, finished his discourse with interrogating the suitor by whose cattle the offence had been committed ?

You

You may, perhaps, imagine, Mr. North Briton, that his Lordship would be tolerably puzzled to bring himself off from so peremptory an adjudication, when he understood that his own cattle had, in this manner, broke down the fence and destroyed the orchard? But if you entertain so mean an opinion of his Lordship's abilities, you are utterly mistaken. Lord Halkerston was not liable to be so easily embarrassed. As soon as the judge perceived how matters were situated, he tells the peasant, " I must
 " acknowledge that the law really stands, in general, as I have already explained it ; but there are
 " some particular exceptions to all general rules,
 " and many cases to which those general axioms I
 " just now mentioned, cannot be properly applied.
 " The case before us (continues he) is attended with
 " many very particular circumstances, which render it quite unjustifiable to suppose that those general rules should be extended thereto. In the
 " first place, the offending cattle belong to your
 " own laird, whose friendship and favour may, in all
 " other causes, be of more consequence to you than
 " the trifle to be expected from the prosecution of
 " so odious a claim. In the next place (goes on the
 " Northern Sage) the rigour of law is only to
 " be used between persons of an equal degree.
 " What would the world say of you if you should
 " persist in such a demand against one so much your
 " superior? And what would my brother judges and
 " the neighbouring gentry say of me, if I should
 " set such an unparallelled example of condescension, as to place myself on an equality with a farmer? No—my own dignity will never permit it ;
 " and you have more understanding, if you give
 " yourself a moment's reflection, than to suppose I
 " would

“would ever stoop to so abject a submission.” The clown, Sir, was, or seemed to be, thoroughly satisfied of the equity of his lordship’s determination; and the event of this affair gave rise to a well known proverb in that country, “The man may have right on his side against Halkerston’s Cow, but his situation in life is so disproportionate to his antagonist, that he cannot succeed, in the way of law, against him.

In other countries, but particularly in England, the great men esteem it their peculiar glory, that no subject is above the law, though he may be placed in the most exalted situation. But in Scotland, their very proverbs are contrived to inspire the middling and inferior part with the notion that nothing but loss and disappointment is to be met with in contending for right, even in the plainest case, with a person in a superior station. How conformable this is to the generous sentiments of the Scots, and how agreeable to their excellent constitution, every man must know that has had any close connection in business with them, or been obliged (as was my unfortunate lot !) to live for a time beyond the banks of the Tweed.

Another of their adages, is “Shew me the man, and I’ll shew you the law,” which is manifestly calculated to teach the people that it is ridiculous to dispute with their betters, when the event of a cause may be so easily known from the circumstances only of the persons concerned. These and other similar sayings amongst the Scots, evidently prove the good opinion they entertain of their own judges, and the administration of law in their own country.

I will

I will now, Sir, shew you how causes have been, and now are, carried on; that you may have at once before you the conduct of Scottish Judges, as well during the time of their sessions, as that of their vacation.

In the court of session, as at Paris, it is usual, for persons at law with each other, to go about (like so many candidates at an election) soliciting the votes and interest of the judges, who [the judges] are each attended by a Pat and a Secretary; the first of which it is absolutely necessary to consult, and the latter to treat with. When you are informed of the origin of Patship, you will readily guess the nature of the office. One of the former judges of that court, of the first character, knowledge and application to business, had a son at the bar whose name was Patrick, and when the suitors came about soliciting his favour, his question was, "Have you consulted Pat?" If the answer was affirmative, the usual reply of his lordship was, "I'll enquire of Pat" about it. I'll take care of your cause. Go home and mind your business." This judge in that case, was ever as good as his word; for while his brother judges were robing, he would tell them what pains his son had taken, and what trouble he had put himself to, by his directions, in order to find out the real circumstances of the dispute; and as no one on the bench would be so unmannerly as to question the veracity of the son, or the judgment of the father, the decree always went according to the information of Pat. At the present æra, in case a judge has no son at the bar, his nearest relation (and he is sure to have one there) officiates in that station. But, as it frequently happens, if there are Patts employed on
each

each side, the judges differ, and the greatest interest (i. e. the longest purse) is sure to carry it.

In the like manner, Mr. North Briton, justice is often shamefully prostituted in their inferior courts. The poor criminal is sure of meeting with all the rigour of the law, whilst the rich culprit is certain of escaping with impunity: If his crime is too flagrant to be covered, his escape is connived at: if otherwise, his acquittal is contrived by fallacious interpretations from the bench, and an arbitrary intimidation of the Prosecutor. Among those who have made themselves rich by distributing justice in this very impartial manner, the late judge B— (you will excuse my concealing the name, for the sake of a worthy surviving son) in Dumferline, was most conspicuously eminent; of whom I will give you one particular anecdote.

One Thomas Bell of the same town, who in an industrious course of years, had scraped up a few hundred pounds together, by mending of clocks and watches, was strangely tempted to become rich of a sudden. For this purpose he applied himself to coining, and having cast a half crown, sent his servant immediately with it, to a neighbouring tavern, for a bottle of rum and change. The piece happening to be still warm, the landlady, jokingly, exclaims, somewhat loud, "Tom Bell has fallen to making of "half-crowns!" The judge, in another room over-hearing her, called for the money, looked at it, told her the half crown was a good one, put it in his pocket and gave her another in its stead. The landlady sent the rum and the change, and presently after the judge, attended by his posse, surrounded the habitation of the unfortunate Bell. Every person
however,

however, was ordered to wait without till they might be called, and the upright dispenser of the law entered the house alone.

Thomas, now trembling, received him with all the politeness, the dreadfulness of his situation would permit. The humane judge told him he had no great occasion to be fearful if he was not wanting to himself; that he had, indeed, in his custody, an evidence of his guilt which could not be refuted; that he should be very loth to be instrumental in hanging a neighbour where it could possibly be any way avoided. He then asked if he had dispersed any of these counterfeit half-crowns about the country? Bell protesting that he had made but three in all, and that he had the remaining two in the house; he was desired, after a few more encouraging words, to deliver them up, with the instruments he used in coining, which he instantly did. "Now, Thomas," says this honest judge, "you are sensible I have your life in my power—but I am unwilling to take it. This matter cannot be hushed up without money. I cannot make you and myself safe without pleasing the King's Advocate and the Clerks of Justice. Let me see—I must have four or five hundred pounds from you, or I cannot possibly serve you in this dangerous affair. Turn to the window and see who are about your house: These people, too, must all be handsomely paid for their silence." The poor man, terribly alarmed with the apprehensions of a jail and a rope, assented to sign proper deeds of conveyance, and give him up his all. This agreed to, the attendants were told by their superior, that he had found his suspicions were groundless, and therefore they were at liberty to retire. The instruments were no sooner executed,
but

but the judge, with the utmost tenderness and humanity advised the yet terrified culprit, for his more certain safety, to fly the country immediately, which he readily complied with; and left this ravenous wolf of the law, in the quiet enjoyment of all the fruits of his many years industrious labour. The man's sudden disappearance, however, joined with the judge's taking possession of all his effects, gave, at that time, a shrewd suspicion of the circumstances of the case; which was afterwards fully corroborated and confirmed, in the manner I have related, by letters from abroad, written by the unfortunate Bell himself. There must be numbers alive who can attest the truth of this singular affair; as it is not, I believe, yet a dozen years since it occurred.

I could, Sir, present you with many other similar anecdotes, but these, I presume, will fully suffice to give you a true idea of that high estimation in which liberty and justice are held in the kingdom of Scotland. Every man of sense will easily perceive how truly impolitic it must be, to put the people of Florida in the power of persons, who even among themselves are guilty of such unjustifiable and inhuman proceedings; and I leave it to your particular consideration, Mr. North Briton, whether under a government of this sort, the Floridans can have any inducement to become good and useful citizens, and sincerely unite themselves with England; or whether they will not, rather, be inclined to believe us a set of unmerciful oppressors; undeserving their duty as subjects, and unworthy their affections as men? I am,

S I R, Yours, &c.

Smyrna Coffee-House,
Sep. 12.

AN ENGLISHMAN

N^o 63.

N^o 63.

Saturday, SEPTEMBER 24.

*These upstarts will have followers to uphold
Their damn'd opinions.*

Play of Sir John Oldcastle, Act I. Scene 3.

NOTHING surely can be so truly contemptible as the arguments by which the Scottish partizans endeavour to establish an opinion of the integrity and wisdom of their ministerial idol; nor can any thing be more despicably fallacious, than the artifices which they have constantly used, to impose upon the judgment and unsuspecting confidence of the public.

As the treaty of peace is by much the most important, so it is natural to suppose that it should employ a greater part of our consideration than any other proceeding of the arbitrary Scot, and be more frequently canvassed, in proportion as this superiority of importance is allowed. The mercenary scribblers who have drawn their prostituted pens in defence of this treaty, have pitched upon a very pretty species of argument, in order to support the restitution of our conquests, and justify the ill grounded apprehension, or infamous prodigality of their all economical minister.

The first of these arguments is erected upon the weak, sandy foundation of a sophistical philosophy, that has no existence but in name, and yet strikes at the very vitals of all industry and commerce, those principal supports of every government! at a time

O

that

that it seems to have no other object in its view than the general emolument.

“ Had our American colonies (say they) been still held in our possession, and had we obstinately insisted on never restoring those valuable acquisitions to our enemies, our ruin had been inevitable; luxury and profusion had immediately introduced themselves into all orders of the people, nor could any thing have preserved us from destruction, the corruption of the times had been so universal.—The history of all ages, and the annals of all nations (continue these elaborate and disinterested reasoners) are fraught with an infinity of examples, where prosperity and power have brought their most considerable possessors to ruin; and, if any proofs are necessary in assertions so indisputably just, let us only turn over a few pages of the Grecian history, or examine the rise and decline of the Roman empire.”

’Tis a great pity that these very florid and very sentimental set of authors have not something like common sense and sound argument to support any of those specious positions, which we find them so ready to assert. If power and prosperity are such dangerous enemies to a state, it must necessarily follow that insecurity and distress, the opposites of those blessings, are the greatest of its friends; and that there is no way to save us from ruin but by being absolutely destroyed. Wretchedness and poverty must, at this rate, be the criterion of national happiness: and if affluence and security are so much to be dreaded, the miserable natives of Scotland must be the most fortunate set of people alive. The prudent and philosophical ornament of the Highlands indeed seems to be perfectly of opinion that there is no way
of

of consulting our happiness, unless our interest is attacked; and, thanks to the indefatigable zeal of this patriotic nobleman, as far as he could, our security has been promoted; for, in every department of government, since his accession to power, the welfare of this kingdom, has met with a most laudable neglect. It were to be wished, that the same method taken to advance the happiness of all true-born Englishmen, was observed to consult the advantage of the Scotch; for, during the present administration, every means to ruin these brave, loyal, affectionate people has been tried, by raising them to honours, and lifting them to place.

This terrible apprehension of growing too powerful, or becoming too rich, is to be sure a very alarming circumstance. In the name of wonder, if we are so fearful of arriving at an excess of power, or a superabundance of wealth, whence comes it that plans of industry are daily proposing, or that the extension of our commerce is so earnestly recommended by the best of sovereigns, and encouraged by all who have any real attention to the welfare of this kingdom? — If the abettors of a Scottish faction were not either utterly incapable of thinking, or desirous of sacrificing every thing like thought, they would have undoubtedly considered that we have a rising generation constantly ready to enter upon any growing acquisitions; and that luxury is at the present æra as firmly established among us, as if we had the mines of Mexico and Peru to support or keep it up; and yet there is little or no reason to think the decline of the British greatness at hand, unless the Scottish class of ministers, to whom we have been hitherto so very much obliged, should think of proceeding

ceeding in the blessed path which they have trod in, or should not be called to a strict account for having ever entered it at all.

Greece and Rome fell thro' their luxury and venality; but what is that to us? England, without having one half of that extensive dominion which we now see her possessed of, saw the total system of her government overturned, and her monarch brought to the block. Luxury and venality could have never produced a more extraordinary change than this. Was it the luxury or venality of the kingdom, which drove that infamous stain to royalty, the second James, from a throne which he had so greatly dishonoured and abused? Luxury——stuff!——so far from being an enemy, 'tis an advantage to a state; it spurs up the members of the community to a laudable pursuit of industry, and excites an honest desire, wherever we see a wish for the elegancies of life, to come at the necessary means.——The gradual increase of the English power has no where enervated the sons of Freedom. Are we not now, as much as five hundred years ago, equally warm in the pursuit of honour, and equally impatient of injuries or disgrace? in what one circumstance have the present period cast a stain upon the glorious ancestry from which they are derived? The reign of Edward the Third was not more glorious for its Audleys, its Salisburys, and its Warwicks, than that of George the Second for its Wolfes, its Townshends, its Granbys, and its Howes; or in what one instance does Russel, Drake, or Blake, soar superior to our Saunders, our Pocock, our Tyrrel, or our Hawke.

The ridiculous inconsistency which appears in the arguments of our ministerial politicians would be truly

truly contemptible, if it was not calculated to impose upon the credulity of the well-meaning, and contrived to cast a false lustre upon proceedings, which can by no means appear to the eye of observation in any thing like a tolerable light. They tell us that had the West-Indian conquests been detained, we should have been too rich, and absolutely ruined by the superabundance of our wealth; therefore insist that it was a point of good management in the ministry to give them up. Yet, notwithstanding this declaration, they tell us the administration took every method to make us as great and as rich as possible: Tho' it was possible an encrease of riches would be the foundation of our ruin, and that our destruction would inevitably take its rise the moment we beheld this terrible encrease. *Risum teneatis amici!*—I suppose we shall soon see an essay to prove the necessity of setting the bank of England on fire, and have arguments published to shew the expedience of living upon oatmeal; together with a panegyric on the itch.

Having thus endeavoured to expose the fallacy of this ministerial invective against opulence and power, I shall next proceed to take some notice of the mighty acquisition of territory which is so emphatically dwelt upon, by the consistent set of gentlemen by whom the former argument is advanced.

An extensive and important tract of territory (we have been informed) three times as large as the colonies about which we make so much bustle and dispute, has been lately ceded by that very peace which we take such uncommon pains to condemn. I believe 'tis a point which even none of the Scottish writers will deny, that the richness of any country

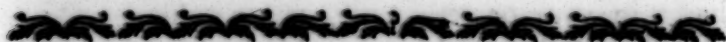
does not proceed from the greatness of its extent, but the number of its inhabitants. Of this the United Provinces are a convincing proof, which tho' of a very contracted and inconsiderable space, are nevertheless from the number and industry of subjects, equal in opulence to any nation in Europe. That we have acquired a large extent of territory, no body will deny, but we are to consider, first of all, how this territory is to be peopled, before we think of raising its importance, or making it of any account. The country ceded to us is for the most part totally uncultivated, over-run with woods, and destitute of inhabitants; and in some places a man might travel a whole month, without ever meeting the least vestige of a human foot-step. To supply it with inhabitants from the mother country is utterly impossible; we are every day in our manufactures and our commerce complaining of the scarcity of inhabitants ourselves, not to take any notice that the territory in question is five times as large as the mother country itself. Of what importance then can we reasonably imagine this acquisition, or of what service can we suppose an extensive tract of dominion, which there is not the least probability of turning to any account? But, indeed, the opinion which the French themselves entertain of this circumstance, will set the whole affair in a pretty clear light. I was lately discoursing with a French man of quality, with whom I have the honour of an intimate acquaintance, on this subject, and lamenting the incapacity of the Scotch administration, particularly in this very point; when my friend addressed me in the following manner:

“ It has been long acknowledged, Monsieur, by the gentlemen of England, and that pretty justly, that

that we are much better politicians than themselves. I shall deal very candidly with you in this affair, and give you my sentiments without constraint or disguise. Great a concession as your court may imagine the administration of Versailles have made, in allowing you so extensive a range of territory, yet it does not penetrate the ultimate view which we had in making this cession, nor foresee one half of the folly it has been guilty of, in thinking it a compensation for the return of the various settlements which you conquered in the West Indies. We are very sensible, Sir, that you can never people this country sufficiently to make it answer any tolerable purpose, without stripping yourselves of all your most useful manufacturers and artificers; a proceeding that would inevitably prove fatal to the commerce of the mother country, and, in case of a rupture with us, or any other nation, leave her destitute of her principal security and defence. Had you retained our islands, which I must confess you had it in your power to do, you would have been possessed of snug and comfortable settlements, ready peopled to your hand; rich, powerful, and flourishing. Our people, while their religion and property were secured under your government, could have no inducement to leave those islands; and if, at any time, you were suspicious of their faith, a garrison of a thousand men would be sufficient to remove all your apprehensions at once. By this means England would have become the empress of commerce, as well as mistress of the sea, and supplied every part of the European world herself with those articles of traffic, which must be now carried, before her face, by her natural enemies the French, as you call us, or the crafty Dutch, her double-dealing friends.

“ Seeing

“ Seeing, therefore, that this is the case, you have acquired nothing more than a dominion over a country, which you can never be able to possess; a dominion which the wolves of America enjoy in a more ample and unlimited manner than yourselves. You are become the lords of mountains uninhabited, and the masters of woodlands unknown to the step of man. The more territory we granted you, the deeper our plan was laid for your destruction, and we should have been, by many degrees, your warmer friends had we granted you infinitely less. I know your sentiments so well that I am very certain of your excuse for the liberty I have taken on this head; this gives me confidence enough to add, that the best thing you can possibly do, is, not to bestow a single thought on your new American acquisitions, since to make it turn to any account, as I have already observed, the ruin of the mother country must be the foundation of its rise.”

N^o 64.

Saturday, OCTOBER 1.

Judicium reddit verum narratio vera. MANT.

AN exhausted treasury, a dishonourable peace, an extension of an unconstitutional excise, an amazed and inactive administration, a ruinous sinking of the public funds, and an alarming discontent amongst the people, are to be numbered with the blessings derived on this nation by the wonderful plan of oeconomy, and admirable system of politics, adopted and displayed by the late arrogant and now trembling Scot. To the farther dishonour of the kingdom, the reptile faction he has bequeathed to
us,

us, seem obstinately determined not to quit the helm till they have given equal proofs with their wise predecessor of their stupendous abilities in the great arts of government. Though they are utterly incapable of forming any apt and noble plans for the public good, and even want courage to move forward in the execution of such little ones as their dwarfish geniuses are able to contrive; yet do they still appear most stubbornly resolved to maintain themselves in power to the latest extremity; fatal soever as their continuance therein may prove to the state. By this headstrong wilfulness of the ministerial junto, an almost total stagnation of national business universally prevails in all the great offices; and whilst the public welfare is thus neglected at home, the Majesty of this free nation, through the inability of our rulers, is every where despised and insulted abroad. Our numerous conquests, so lately our glory, are now become our disgrace; and the puny cessions made in their stead, are only converted into a cumbersome load. Commerce languishes, and the credit of the nation decays so fast, that unless some rational schemes are formed for their present re-establishment, I don't know whether the Exchange and the Custom-House, may not shortly be found of no other use than to be turned into public charities, for the residence and support of all the bankrupt merchants that such a dangerous situation of affairs must, otherwise, inevitably produce. I cannot help forming a wish, that the Earls of Shelburne and Hillsborough would undertake so patriotic a task! Who so equal to the attempt? What a system of trade and commerce might we not hope for from the singular experience and extraordinary abilities of their lordships! What
not

not expect from gentlemen, whose great judgment in commercial matters, whose amazing skill in the science of traffick, and whose surprizing knowledge of the separate interests (in those important respects) of the several states of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, first recommended the one, and then the other, to preside at the board of trade!

The refusal of the opposition to unite themselves with men so truly despised by foreign nations, and so justly contemned in their own, has had a very extraordinary effect. The noble disdain with which the patriots received the overtures for a coalition, has forced a principal of the ministerial party to a measure, which at that time they were made, the "shallow sighted mortal" had not the penetration to foresee. He who had skulked from the ministry to shun as much as possible the complaints of the public, has, by this unexpected event, been prematurely obliged to enter into action and encounter the murmurs of a people whom his fatal negotiation had so flagrantly injured and betrayed. It is indisputably known that his Grace was by no means inclined to venture, again so soon on the boisterous ocean of government, if he could any way, without deserting the cause he had engaged in, have slipped his neck out of so disagreeable a collar. No—he waited for a calming of the waves; and in hopes that his absence would have buried in oblivion his important share in the memorable treaty of sixty three, would have willingly enjoyed, a little while longer, that happiness of retirement he had been lately so politically loud in the praise of. But, unfortunately for this able negotiator, none of the patriot minority would undertake the defence of the adequate measure

sure

sure he had the honour to execute, nor could one of them be prevailed on to assist in the prosecution of schemes that must be grafted on such unpopular resolutions as those that gave birth to the peace and extended the excise: So that his evil genius has impelled him, before his time, to strut on the theatre of politics, and join with the relicks of the Scottified administration to put a finishing hand to their important projects, fill the exchequer by another excise-act, and restore unanimity to a distracted nation by the same counsels that have given tranquillity to Europe. We may now, once more, promise ourselves the agreeable sight of another posse of Scottish bankers, hastening to the treasury to support, with Scottish credit, the crying necessities of an English state; and the disinterested gentlemen of the city may have another opportunity of injuring their characters, as merchants of London by generously venturing again their substance in the service of the people of England.

That the earl of Holland may be anxious that Mr. Fox's transactions should be buried in silence, I am no way in doubt. The man who is emulous to deserve praise, is too humble to desire it. Yet I could wish the ministry would render their association more eminently compleat, by enticing his lordship from his present inactive, I had almost said inglorious recess. "Ay, but we were cheated out of a peerage by a promise of a final retirement from business."—True, ye ministerial dupes, and so ye were.—"We cannot trust," Trust! Psha! Why then do ye not dismiss?—"That step would irritate"—O, I understand ye; it would throw too great a weight on the opposite scale. What dastards! What a cause!

The

The earl of Sandwich, indeed, has had some experience in the weighty business of state; but the earl of Egmont may, perhaps, be more properly considered as only an apprentice in the art and mystery of government. We may, however, comfort ourselves with this consolatory reflection, that such an extraordinary genius cannot be long in acquiring a competent knowledge of the trade of negotiation, from his grace of Bedford, whilst my Lord of Holland (if he condescends to mount again the rostrum of power) instructs his lordship in the management of matters in another place. What a pity is it that lord Despenfer is not joined with these remarkable coadjutors! What a surprizing lustre would not such a triumvirate throw on our annals in future times!

If it is, indeed, true, that the Thane has taken a resolution to travel for his health, or any other cause, his absence, however regretted, cannot be very hurtful to the kingdom, as long as his compeer in the peace, and many of his friends, are still remaining at the ministerial helm: And whilst the soul of the ministry, our king-descended highlander is strengthening, for the benefit of England, his natural connections with his cousins of France and Spain, a double portion of his spirit will animate his Grace, and the rest of his adherents, at home. To this I may add, that if an august assembly, soon to meet, should be so pertly inquisitive as to require a satisfactory report of the enormous sums that were issued (but are yet unaccounted for) during a late administration, and so impertinently curious as to insist upon peeping into the correspondence that passed between our negotiators during the treaty, why—why his lairdship will be out of their power, and may safely refuse to comply.

Sir William Temple unasked, gave an account of every (even the minutest) circumstance relative to the peace at Breda, the marine Treaty, and every other negotiation in which that great statesman was employed. Mesnager has satisfied us entirely with respect to the interesting steps which perfected the peace of Utrecht. Even Sir Robert Walpole laid before the tribunal of the public all the proceedings regarding the Treaties of Hanover and Madrid. Mr. Pitt's behaviour is too recent to need mentioning; he called for all his papers; he insisted they should all be inspected; why they were not, those who opposed that indubitable proof of his integrity, best can tell. On the contrary, every introductory step to the duke of Bedford's journey to Paris has remained an impenetrable secret; nor are we yet instructed by authority, in the several points on which the correspondence among the negotiators turned, from the departure of his Grace to the signing of the preliminaries; neither are we hitherto acquainted how, or by what means, it happened that the Definitive Treaty was more accurate and beneficial to England, than the articles which were so precipitately settled as the basis of the peace. It cannot be doubted but that the messages, answers, queries, informations, and directions, that pass, *hinc inde*, on that important occasion, would be highly interesting and instructive! By them we should learn on what principles the negotiation proceeded, and with what address the peace-makers talents were exerted, so as to engage our enemies to the subscribing of a treaty, whereby they should lose the rich and fertile sands of Florida, for the infinitely desert islands of Guadeloupe, Martinico, and Cuba; how we retained the

river Senegal, and got rid of the useless island of Goree; and by what means the Spaniards came to permit us the cutting of logwood, after we had generously renounced our territorial right to the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras!

There cannot be a more certain position than, that the public never make an erroneous decision where transactions relating to a treaty are freely, and without preservation, divulged. The general sense of a nation cannot be wrong where every occurrence is rendered as open as day. The people, indeed, may be blinded by a concealing of circumstances, or hoodwink'd by a misrepresentation of facts; but the fault is in the misleaders, and not in the misled.

Whilst this important event was depending, such a full and explicit narration, as I am speaking of, might not have been altogether so proper; our enemies might have availed themselves of some Arcana of State, so imprudently blabbed. But after the negotiation is finally ended, and the treaty not only signed but the stipulations actually performed—(I mean on our part, for Dunkirk will stand a lasting evidence that they never will be on that of our enemies)—it is not possible to figure a convincing reason why we should not be made fully acquainted with the whole of the Mystery. I shall be warranted in terming it a mystery, when we reflect that nothing can be more mysterious than to see two nations animated against each other to the greatest extremity of rage, on a sudden and without any perceivable cause, dropping their reciprocal rancour, and flying into the most endearing embraces; and this, too, at a time when one of them was exerting
a superior

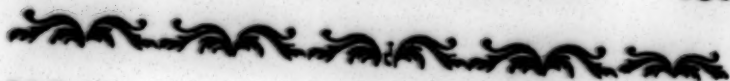
a superior force in grand and expensive expeditions; who had succeeded in almost every enterprize she had attempted; and who had the highest probability of doing so wherever she had not brought them to a conclusion. If, in a situation like this, and this was surely the situation between England and her enemies, the conquered nation had humbly petitioned for peace, and proffered to buy it from her victorious foe by a cession, for ever, of all that the fortune of war had deprived her of, and even offered an annual tribute to purchase an amnesty of the most shocking barbarities that were ever committed (I mean the American cruelties which preceded the war) the most that could be expected from true patriotism, tempered with a generous compassion, would have been to have lessened, as much as possible, the demands for damages and the claims for warlike expences; but for victors to press for peace from their humble and exhausted enemies, and upon such terms too as those contained in the preliminaries, must absolutely, be owing to some other principle than a humane desire to sheath up the sword, or a real concern for the honour and advantage of their country!

In a word, if the highland statesman goes abroad without satisfying the expectations of the public, and the great negotiator does not exert himself in this incumbent step, what will the nation, what will Europe in general, think of both? It is notorious that good men disdain that close secrecy which is the cover and companion of injustice. The tree is always known by its fruit, and the man by his measures. If a man only appears by night, we must

esteem him as a thief, but if he acts a fair and open part shews himself at noon, and is ready to account for his conduct to the scrutinizing judge, the world is satisfied, and the honesty of his character firmly established.

Let then this dark Duumvirate consider, that the argos-eyed public will never be lulled asleep. Let them reflect that as they have long disappointed the ardent desires of a people who had bravely and loyally carried on a just and necessary war, and still were willing, *unexcised*, to have continued their vast and expensive attacks, that the time for account may come before they are prepared, and that ere the longer it is covered and depressed, bursts out, at last, with redoubled violence, and destroys with the greater rapidity.

X.



N^o 65. Saturday, OCTOBER 8.

To what could it be owing that the reigns of so many of our kings have been inglorious, unfortunate, and even fatal to themselves? If we may give credit to history, they evidently proceeded from one of these causes; that is, either from the ill designs and attempts of the prince himself, against the liberties of his subjects; or from his suffering some other person to engross his authority, and tyrannize over them in his name.

CRAFTSMAN, Jan. 17, 1736.

To the NORTH BRITON.

SIR,

IT has long been a maxim with your puny essayists to cover the barrenness of their own parts, with extensive extracts from other publications. These sort of geniuses seize on every popular production as a lawful prize; and having written a previous encomium to introduce it with some degree of colour, which generally furnishes a single paragraph only, the piece is cut down to their size, and happily serves to fill up the remainder of the paper. I have observed, Mr. North Briton, that you have never been so deficient in matter, as to avail yourself of this convenient artifice; nor, if affairs continue on their present footing, do I apprehend you will ever experience a scarcity of subjects. The insolence, ignorance and inactivity of the ministerial herd, are too fruitful of murmurs among the people, and too pregnant of censure from a patriot writer, to lay you under any necessity of treading in the ingenious

genious steps of your unprolific brethren. There are, however, some cases in which an extract may be highly apt and useful ; and particularly when it is from a piece, which, from the original form of its publication, and the length of time since it appeared, it is natural to suppose may neither be generally known, nor generally remembered. If, therefore, you think this a sufficient reason for printing the following taken from a pamphlet published about twenty seven years ago, and which then made a very great noise, it is at your service : If not, I submit to your better judgment.

The fatal Consequences of Ministerial Influence; or, the Difference between Royal Power and Ministerial Power truly stated.

IF ever the crown, or rather the ministers of the crown, should be able by the many posts and pensions at their disposal, to influence elections of all kinds, and both houses of parliament, so as to have always a majority in each house, under the absolute direction of the prime minister for the time being, it would be no way necessary for any minister to desire a farther sacrifice of our constitution ; for, by both houses being under such a direction, our constitution would be as effectually destroyed, as if both houses had joined in an absolute surrender of all the liberties and privileges of the people.

The outward form might, and probably would, be kept up ; but every man must see that the life and spirit of our constitution would be lost. Our government would, from that moment, become an absolute monarchy, and that one of the worst kind ;
for

for if we must chuse, it would be better for us to have an absolute monarchy, founded upon the principles of passive obedience and non-resistance, and supported by superstitious priests, ridiculous as they are, than an absolute monarchy, founded upon corruption, and supported by mercenary parliaments. In the first case, the people would, it is true, be slaves; but they might preserve their religion and morality; whereas, in the last case, the people would not only be slaves, but the generality of them would, of course, become arrant knaves, and a general depravity would rush in upon us; for all sorts of licentiousness would be encouraged, in order to make way for corruption. We could never expect to see our debts paid off; nor to be relieved of any of our taxes; and if any part of the old debt should at any time be paid off, great care would be taken to contract some new debt, in its stead; for the doctrine lately broached would then become a certain and necessary maxim of state; our debts must be kept standing, and our taxes continued, because the dependencies they create are necessary for the support of our government.

Under such a government as this, it would be impossible for the people, in a legal and regular method, to bring any minister to justice, as long as he continued the Favourite of the crown. Let him be as rapacious and oppressive as it is possible to imagine; let the interest of the nation be sacrificed to foreigners; let the murmurings of the people be loud and general; nay, let him be burnt in effigy at every market town in England; yet he would continue to rule over the people; to insult the nobles; to plunder the nation; and rob the exchequer; and till the
crown

crown threw him off, he might every year proudly brag of his wisdom and innocence, and defy the friends of the people to lay any thing to his charge.* Could we then pretend to be a free people? Could we then pretend to a privilege, or power, of calling our governors to an account, and punishing them for their transgressions? No! The crown might now and then throw a prime minister out, to be torn in pieces by the mercenary mob in parliament, at the command of, and in order to give an air of popularity to the next, that succeeded; but if no minister is ever to be called to an account, or punished by our parliament, till he is given up by the crown, the people of Turkey, have as just a pretence to Liberty as the people of England could pretend to.

This sort of government the Royal Family can never desire to set up. It is against their interest; as, by our constitution, the king can never be made to answer for any faults or oppressions, committed by those under him, even tho' committed by his express order in writing; therefore it can never be the interest of the king, to draw upon himself popular resentment, by overturning, or endeavouring to overturn our constitution.

But, with respect to our ministers, and all in power under the king, it is otherwise. They are all answerable, not only for their own conduct, but in many cases for the conduct of those they employ. Nay, they are answerable for the king's conduct, because they are bound in duty to give him good and wholesome advice; and if he enters into any measures, which are inconsistent with the interest of the nation, and contrary to the laws of the kingdom,
they

they must answer, and will certainly be punished for it, if our constitution be preserved in its full vigour. Considering therefore the weakness of human nature; how apt mens heads are to turn giddy with power, and how ready most men are to turn the power and favour of the crown to the aggrandizing and enriching their own families; I believe, without pretending to the gift of prophecy, I may foretell that we shall have, in future times, as we have had in times past, many ministers, whose personal safety will depend upon preventing any impartial enquiry into their conduct; and, for this purpose, they will certainly endeavour to overturn our constitution, by having a majority in one, or both houses of parliament, intirely under their direction.

This difference between the real interest and safety of the Royal Family, and the interest and safety of the king's ministers, shews us how necessary it is to distinguish between that power, which is vested in the crown, by the true and original nature of our constitution, and that power, which has since been vested in the crown; either by accident, or by the art of ministers. The first I shall call the royal power of the crown; the last I shall call, what it really is, the ministerial power of the crown. From the ancient histories and law-books of this kingdom, it appears that the power of the crown did not formerly so much consist in the naming of all the officers, employed in the exercise of our government, as in the commanding and directing them, after they were named by the people; and this is certainly most agreeable to the true spirit of our constitution, which supposes that the king can do no wrong; because, if his orders be contrary to law, the officer, to whom they are directed, ought to inform him, and not on-

ly may, but ought to refuse to execute them; and if, in such a case, he neglects to give the king proper information, or if he executes any illegal orders, it is not the king, but the officer, who, by our constitution, does the wrong, and he only is to be punished for it. The intention of this regulation certainly is, that it may not be in the power of any king to do wrong, or to get any illegal orders executed; and this intention will probably be effectual, where the orders are issued by the crown, and the officers named by the people.

With respect to pensions and gratuities, it is the same. Those which are granted to men of eminent rank, may be supposed to be the effects of royal benignity, and can never be granted but for eminent public services; so that the considerations, for which they are granted, must be publicly known; and therefore it would be no diminution of the royal power to order them all to be publicly registered, under the pain of high treason. But those little, hidden pensions, or gratuities, which are paid to persons of mean rank, can but seldom be supposed to proceed from royal benignity, but from ministerial bribery. Such are seldom granted for public services; and they may, very probably, be granted in future times for securing to the minister a corrupt majority in both houses of parliament.

My readers will now, I hope, fully understand the distinction I have made between the royal and the ministerial power of the crown. The first is coeval with, and a necessary part of our constitution; and when it is not under ministerial direction, it cannot be supposed that it will be often turned towards the overthrow of our constitution. The last is the pro-
dyce

duce of latter ages, and is of late years grown to such a height, that if any one man should hereafter get the direction both of the royal and ministerial power of the crown, and should turn both these powers towards securing to himself a corrupt slavish majority in both houses of parliament, I am afraid the honest and free part of the people, though united to a man against him, would find it impossible to exercise the power in the legal and regular manner established by our constitution, with respect to the calling of him, or any of his tools to an account; or punishing them for their blunders or oppressions.

About the same time Mr. North Briton, the following was published in the Craftsman, and may not prove an improper supplement to the above.

MARKS by which a King may know,
when he is reduced to the deplorable
Condition of being a Slave to his Ser-
vant, or Minister.

1st. **W**HEN many noblemen and gentlemen of the most antient families, and largest estates, and the greatest credit in the kingdom, absent themselves from court.

2^d. When men of unquestioned worth and fidelity, throw up great posts, without any declared motive, or with a solid weighty one.

3^d. When counties, cities, and great trading towns, return members to parliament in opposition to the court interest.

To these, Sir, I think may be subjoined, but that I also submit to you, the following :

4th,

4th, When any great national concern, such as the preliminaries of a peace, &c. is strongly contested in both houses, by men of great abilities, and known patriotism.

5th, When the whole transactions of a treaty of peace, are kept entirely a secret to the people.

6th, When great cities, counties, and boroughs do not address the throne on such an important event as a peace.

And lastly, When the addresses are known to be procured through the influence of interested courtiers; or venally purchased through the avarice of a few leading people, in any great city, county, borough, or bodies of men.

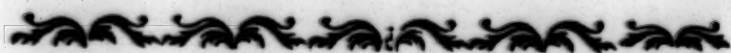
I am, SIR,



Your constant Reader,

F. B. Y.

•• The North Briton purposes, in his next to consider at large and in a new light, the behaviour of the patriot minister in a late important interview; in which the ridiculous charge of arrogance and insult, so industriously propagated, will be fully refuted.



N^o 66. *Saturday, OCTOBER 15.*

*So shines his light before mankind,
His actions prove his honest mind :
If in his country's cause he rise,
Debating senates to advise,
Unbrib'd, unaw'd, he dares impart
The honest dictates of his heart :
No ministerial frown he fears,
But in his virtue perseveres.*

GAY.

Put evil counsellors from the King's presence.

HOLY BIBLE.

I DO not know any thing more false in fact, than the ascribing to selfish dispositions that steady union which cements the members of the glorious opposition ; nor any thing more absurd in judgement, than the imputing to arrogance and presumption the behaviour of the illustrious commoner on a late important occasion : yet the principals of the *Butean* faction, and the chiefs of the present administration (for it seems we are now to consider each as heterogeneous to the other) vexed at the inflexibility of the patriot association, and chagrined at the unshaken firmness of the people's minister, have insolently and ignorantly attributed to those wrong-founded causes, the laudable proceedings of both.

If we take ever so slight a review of the Scotch administration, we shall readily perceive that the grand aim of the northern minister, was to introduce into this happy land of liberty, that abject submission from the people, so tyrannically exacted from

those of his own country. For this most generous purpose, the first employments in the state were prostituted to the use of arbitrary Scotchmen, or Scot-tified Englishmen; and if we descend a degree or two lower, we shall find that the strongest proof of merit, and the greatest recommendation for advancement, was, an influential connection of any sort, with members and electors; the relations and friends of whom, from their brothers, sons and cousins, down to their harlots, pimps, and footmen, were complimented with places of trust and advantage, in preference to every other application whatever. Where this was not the case, no subject born on this side the Tweed, stood the least chance for preferment; for here, the most infamous partiality was exhibited by the minister, in favour of haughty, torified consanguinity, and beggarly North British nativity. Nor was this all. Because the government was not yet enough loaded with placemen, and the people not already sufficiently drained of their wealth, new posts were also lavishly created, and old ones scandalously augmented, divided, and subdivided. Upon this happy plan did the all-directing Highlander proceed; in hopes of retaining a venal majority, who would be ready on every occasion to sanctify, by a plurality of voices, any measure of oppression it might be needful to adopt, for the more speedy attainment of his favourite and ultimate end.

To speak of the public proceedings of the present motley administration, or the schemes they have formed, is a total impossibility; for as yet there has not been any thing done, or any thing plann'd. The direction of the national business is neglected for the management of private feuds. The ministry is split into two factions; and as we are told that a house
divided

divided against itself cannot stand, I think I may venture from so great an authority, to prophecy that their reign must consequently be but of a short duration. I know not whether the Buteans may not be yet the most numerous body, but they are nevertheless too weak to oppose the power of so formidable a Junto, as the secretaries and treasurer: However let it be remembred that both parties were once united with the Thane, and that though the latter have caught the lust of power from their late master, and are now turned renegadoes to his political doctrines, that they nevertheless acted with him, as ardently and conjunctively as the others, in his infamous Peace and detested Excise.

Whether I have produced a striking likeness, or given only a caricatura of these hopeful administrations, in a word, whether I have been a Reynolds or a Hogarth in my portrait, I appeal to the judgement of the public, who are so severely acquainted with the originals. That they will pronounce in favour of the former, I cannot take a moment to decide, and therefore it must, unavoidably, follow, that a set of patriots may contend, and a disinterested minister refuse a connection with people of so opposite a stamp, without being actuated by a prospect of gain, or impelled by a spirit of pride.

Thus much premised, can we possibly wonder that our great protector should desire a thorough reformation in the first offices of state? nay, should we not rather be greatly astonished if he had not strenuously insisted, in the firmest manner, on this concession, as an absolute *sine qua non* condition? Whilst such a gangrenous substance remained in the administration, it would be the highest absurdity to suppose that any

act of power, how well soever intended, could be properly exerted for the good of the state; and therefore it was indispensibly necessary for the health and preservation of the body-politic of the Kingdom, to require an amputation of all the festered impurity; to demand a total and absolute separation of every infected member! To this must naturally follow, the placing in the various departments of the state, such persons as the honest minister best could trust; on whose abilities, and in whose integrity, he could experimentally rely and confide. Without this necessary postulatam being previously agreed to, the most patriotic endeavours might be useless to the public; Without such proper aids, the best councils, and the noblest plans, might be rendered abortive; might disgrace the adviser, and even ruin the country they were intended to serve.

To think of placing a minister at the helm, whilst his enemies are suffered to surround the throne, and to remain in the state, and nevertheless to look for national services from such an administration, is the most flagrant solecism in politics I ever knew promulged: And yet (absurd as it is!) for refusing to join in, and adopt so ridiculous a system, has Mr. Pitt been arraigned, not of arrogance alone, but by the wicked, the weak, and the uninformed, of treason itself. In a situation of this nature, the best and wisest man that ever existed, could carry no public project into effectual execution. His station must be irksome to himself, and grievous to the people. Under such disagreeable circumstances he might lose his popularity, but could not promote the interest of his country. He might be eternally busying his brain for the good of the state, but could reap no other

other fruit from his toil, than the exultations of his counteracting enemies, the commiserations of his friends and the curses of the nation. By accepting the helm on such conditions, the upright statesman might indeed have enriched himself and family from the emoluments of his place; but, alas! so manacled, he could have done no more!

Court Sycophants, and Ministerial Scriblers, have, indeed, pretended, that the great Commoner's insisting on the terms he did, was a violent invasion of the prerogative, and consequently a treasonable attempt to assume the regal power, and render his sovereign a cypher on the throne. But how delusive are such reasonings! That the royal prerogative is executive in the King alone, is beyond a doubt, nor can there exist a wish that it should ever be otherwise; but the direction of that prerogative, has always been understood, by every unbiassed Englishman, to be vested in the minister. It is his, on every occasion, to advise his sovereign how to exert, for the service of the public, the great powers with which the crown is adorned. This, as I take it, is a proper exigesis of the royal prerogative: If there is any person can possibly prove that it is not, I do not know who would be hardy enough to venture upon the hazardous employment of prime minister: For, as the King can do no wrong, the Minister, becomes accountable for every act of the sovereign, and therefore the situation of that man would be tottering indeed who should be obliged to be "answerable for measures he was not permitted to guide." The ordinary and subordinate officers of the crown are the instruments with which the prime minister finishes his designs; and as no artificer can execute his plans without se-

lecting the necessary tools for his purpose, so neither can the minister perform his resolutions, without being allowed to pick out proper agents for the ends proposed.

In this free state it is absolutely necessary that the persons employed under the minister should be born in the free part of his Majesty's dominions; that they possess the sentiments peculiar to free subjects, and are fraught with all that *Amor Patriæ* which so gloriously distinguishes the true-born Englishmen from the people of every other nation around them. To this, too, it is particularly incumbent that they should be men who are so well acquainted with the genius, the temper and the designs of the minister, that where he is not present in person, he may, nevertheless, through them, seem to act, as if he really were. Now, as from the peculiar circumstances of Royalty (the pomp, the pageantry, the awful reverence, the humble and respectful distance due to majesty) it is utterly impossible that the monarch should be so thoroughly acquainted with his subjects as to clearly distinguish which is the fittest amongst them for this important service, there surely does appear a strong necessity that a king, in such matters, should be advised by somebody; and who so proper as the man, whom, not alone the voice of the people, but the sovereign himself, should call forth as worthy to assume the ministerial power? And in the present case, who so capable of pointing out a patriotic and able set of men, and assigning them their respective offices and stations, as the man so singularly eminent for patriotism, penetration and impartiality?

The tools of any invading, oppressing, and pillaging minister, must be, like himself, ambitious,
over-

overbearing and covetous; ready to eradicate by all practicable methods, every generous imagination, and to annihilate, by all possible steps, every sentiment of liberty: By this means to plunder with the greater security, and the more lordly barbarity, the property of the people they had previously and purposely robbed of their freedom. Such men can never be made serviceable instruments for the hands of an honest statesman. They can never be tutored so as to be rendered useful in an administration where every arrangement has entirely opposite purposes to those which they have been taught to promote. But, supposing they could be instructed so as to pursue the real interests of their country; nay, even supposing it were possible to create them almost a-new, to introduce into their brains a new set of ideas, and to infuse into their hearts new rudiments of principles; I say, supposing all this (which no man in his senses can suppose) where is the necessity of so much care and trouble to the minister; Where the prudence, the wisdom of risking a relapse? Perhaps at the very critical, the important moment, when the welfare of the nation may be deeply concerned in the faithfulness, the courage, and the activity of the pupil, he may prove a traitor to his country by betraying the secrets of his tutor. In the name of wonder, is there not a sufficient number of men in this kingdom, of experienced abilities, approved fidelity, and unspotted morals, to fix in our public employments, that we must have recourse for that purpose, to the making of proselytes, or the working of miracles? There surely is; and we have as much security 'as we can have in any such case, that persons so happily qualified and so justly disposed, will never swerve from their duty, but continue to tread in the patriot
paths

paths of virtue: The presumption, at least, must be in favour of untainted innocence. For our modern Machiavels, therefore to imagine that a minister of integrity might reasonably trust, and join himself with, men who had notoriously transgressed every duty incumbent on them, prostituted their consciences to the betrayer of his country, and infringed the freedom of their fellow-subjects, is a finished absurdity, and the most ridiculous article of belief, they ever set down in their political creed: From whence must be made this consequent deduction; that if he could not consistently join himself with such men, he must either decline the proffered post of minister, or be allowed the nomination of others.

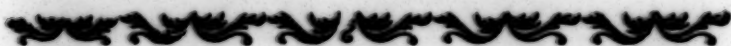
Every prime minister has always had the recommending the persons by whom the great offices were to be filled, and has hitherto enjoyed the exercise of this privilege in its fullest extent; nor was it ever supposed, till corrupted scribblers and mercenary plain-dealers broached the doctrine, that advising the King, with respect to any branch of regal power, was an invasion of royalty, or a curtailing the crown in any of its great prerogatives. The prescription of a skilful physician, might, with equal reason, be called an encroachment on the health of the patient; or the advice of an able counsellor, be denominated an inroad on the estate of the client: But how contemptible would that man appear, who should seriously undertake to maintain such evidently ridiculous positions!

If it is not insolence in any case to advise the King (and who is there will assert it is) there ought to be some reason advanced, why it is arrogance and presumption to counsel a Monarch in the choice of his servants,

servants, more than it is in the adoption of measures. I cannot see why the suggesting of measures should not be esteemed a violent invasion of the prerogative, as well as the pointing out the proper persons for carrying them into execution! Directing the crown in one case, cannot, to a sensible man, appear a whit the more insolent than in the other. In fact, they they are so far from presumptuous, encroaching, or treasonable steps, that, on the contrary, they are constitutional evidences of honesty, patriotism and loyalty. The most ordinary capacity may readily perceive that not only the choice of a prime minister (in which the voice of the people should ever prevail) but of all inferior ones, is a point of the most interesting concern; and, therefore, that advice is the more necessary, in proportion to the greatness of its importance. It is indeed a matter of such high consequence, that on it depends, in general, the success of every national undertaking. In a word, it is, if I may so say, a fundamental step, which gives activity to every other measure; and consequently, a preliminary article which ought first to be settled between the sovereign and the premier, in behalf of the people, before any scheme, project, or purpose can, with any tolerable well-grounded hope of success, be laid or executed, by any minister whatever.

The nation, at present, is in such a ferment, that, to allay its feverish heats the most cooling medicines are absolutely necessary; nor can we hope to see the distraction of the kingdom abated and removed, without the prescriptions of the ablest state-physician our island can produce! Under such circumstances to whom shall we apply for advice? If we chuse the earl of Bute, the disease will most certainly increase. If we have recourse to the duke of Bedford, the peace
of

of Fountainbleau frightens us! If the earl of Halifax is named (and yet there is not one ministerial *Æsculapius* that I would name half so soon) will not the Irish put in a caveat? If the earls of Sandwich, Egmont, Hillsborough, and a long et cætera of the Lord knows who! are proposed, where is the proof of their skill, or how many years have they practised? Wherever we turn our eyes, to or from the administration, there is no appearance of certain relief, but from the *Great Commoner*. The experience we have had of his abilities urges the necessity of his assistance again. On his best endeavours we can safely rely; and from his judgment may expect the happiest events; but we can, nevertheless, easily foresee, that unless he is allowed to chuse his assistants, it is utterly impossible we should reap the least benefit from the one or the other. Before, therefore, a salutary plan of politics can be established, on a firm and solid basis, there must be a great and almost thorough dimission. "Put (says the wise man in my motto) "evil counsellors from the king's presence."

N^o 67.

Saturday, OCTOBER 22.

*Pulchrum eminere est inter illustres viros,
Consulere patriæ, parcere afflictis.*

SENECA.

EVER since the fatal day on which the great Commoner was faction'd from his post, and junto'd from the Administration of public affairs, this unhappy nation has been doomed to suffer every variety of misfortunes, and every mark of disgrace, that the most wretched measures of unexampled ignorance

norance and inattention, could possibly entail upon her.

After an inadequate peace, and an oppressive extension of the excise, had put our patience to the trial, it was reasonable to expect some little alleviation from the national measures which ought to have instantly followed. But, it seems, a severer ordeal was necessary. Instead of immediately providing for our disbanded Soldiers and Sailors, to whose animated bravery we are indebted for all that is dear to us, they were reduced to the hard alternative of starving at home, or seeking subsistence abroad. Nor did these brave men alone become necessitated fugitives, the same neglect (notwithstanding all that has been insinuated to the contrary) was paid to our carpenters and shipwrights, and the same consequences indolently suffered to follow. Elated with this extraordinary reinforcement, our enemies directly availed themselves of it by a most arduous augmentation of their marine. The North Briton exerted every argument, to rouse the administration from their astonishing supineness, which his love for his country could possibly suggest. The first public intelligence of this fatal misfortune, the hostile movements of the French, was given in Number 46 of this paper. The foreign mails soon confirmed it, and every account from France authenticated the arrival of numbers of English soldiers, sailors, and artificers. Reiterated complaints ensued; but instead of any attention being paid to so great an evil, the disease was permitted to increase. France continued to embrace our countrymen; the Dutch allured our subjects to Surinam; and the Russians bribed our people to settle and cultivate their extensive plains. Every man who has vi-
sited

sited France or Holland since the peace, knows these to be absolute and stubborn facts, notwithstanding the confident *ipse dixit*, or artful insinuations of ministerial scriblers (so plentifully scattered in the public papers) to the contrary.—Whether the late proclamation will tend to lessen these public evils, and recall our unfortunate countrymen from their banishment, shall be now impartially discussed.

As the Earl of Halifax has, for a few days, piqued himself upon being supposed the premier, I shall, for this time, indulge him in his imagined importance ; and as I presume, from the nature of his office of Secretary, and his superior knowledge to his brethren of the ministry, in commercial affairs, his lordship had the greatest share in framing the late proclamation, I believe there needs no apology for considering it really as his. I am the more induced to this step, too, as I find it conformable, in many respects, to an opinion which his Lordship lately delivered in company, on this head. If I should swerve in any one particular from his Lordship's declaration, I trust the politeness of an Earl of Halifax must make every allowance for a failure in memory. The minister maintained that it was improper to give any inhabitant of England national encouragement to settle in America ; “ Because, said the great man, England is so much depopulated since the discovery of America, and is so thinly inhabited, that it is very impolitic to send its natives to the colonies, further to dispeople this country. Ireland (continued his Lordship) is considerably hurt by the late migrations from thence to the settlements in South Carolina. It is more than probable the late insurrections in Ireland owe their origin to this cause ; thus much is certain,

tain, the linen manufacture of that Kingdom, so beneficial to England, has, by this means, been so largely transferred to America, that the Irish manufacturers who remained at home, cannot find hands sufficient to carry it on."

In consequence, I presume, of this opinion, at least entirely consonant thereto, the proclamation for settling the ceded colonies, proposes no free possession of land, to any of his Majesty's subjects, except "such reduced officers as have served in North America during the late war, and to such private soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same;" and also "to such reduced officers of our navy, as served on board our ships of war in North America, at the same time of the reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late war, and who shall personally apply to the respective governors for such grants." The first paragraph is so indeterminate worded, that it is impossible to fix whether the officers are obliged to be now "actually residing in America," who are entitled to the grants, or the private soldiers only. However, as the naval officers are not obliged to be residing there, I suppose it must be understood in the same sense in regard to the officers of the army; because, surely, the latter equally deserve the land they conquered, with the former!—Here I cannot help offering one word of advice to all the aforesaid officers, naval and military; and for which I expect neither fee or reward. They are ordered to make personal applications to the governors, but without any restrictions as to where they are to be made; therefore George Johnstone, Esq; Governor of West Florida, being, at present, in

town, they cannot be too early in their applications to that gentleman; as in all probability his Excellency may not long remain here. This may save them a tedious voyage, after Mr. Johnstone, to Florida. But to return —

Could Lord Halifax build a wall round our island to prevent the migration of our countrymen, or could he alleviate the pungent necessities of thousands at home, there might be some propriety in acting upon this plan. But since men in distress will always roam in quest of relief, and those that want the necessaries of life will always follow the hand that feeds them, whether it be to Brest, Cadiz, Peterburgh, Surinam, or Berbice, nothing can be more absurd than to adopt such a system, at a time when the French, Spaniards, Dutch, and Russians, are every where inviting persons destitute of bread, to employments and settlements in their respective countries.

As it is notorious, that there are in the three kingdoms some thousands who have waited with the highest inconvenience in expectation of a settlement in America, under national encouragement, who will now, in all probability, accept of offers elsewhere, it is therefore highly necessary that the question be discussed, whether it is more advantageous for England to keep her necessitated people at home, provide for them in our plantations, or suffer them to seek an asylum under foreign protections?

The first branch of the new Premier's opinion is, England is depopulated since America was discovered. If we can trust Sir Walter Raleigh, he assures us that in the reign of James the first, there was
 “an

“an exact lustration made of all the persons within the realm able to bear arms, and they were found to amount to little above a million of men.” So that by the rule of political arithmetic, which supposes every fourth individual to be fit for war, there could not have been in the realm at that time, any thing near five millions of persons: Whereas, at the present *Æra*, the nearest computation admits of almost eight millions in England only; we must, therefore, instead of depopulation, reckon an increase of some millions since.

But whether this opinion of mine, in respect to the increase of the people of England, be a mistake or not, it is clearly demonstrable that an English subject in America, brings more advantages to the parent country, than if he had remained at home. I will mention two, first, Commerce, second, Population.

An English subject in America consumes the productions of England, at a very advanced price. His cloaths are English cloth. His linen, English, Irish, or Scotch. His shoes in general come to him from hence ready made, and when not, which is very rarely, the leather is English: From whence it naturally follows that an Englishman in America, is, thus far, nearly the same, with respect to England, as if he was really here. But how much beyond it, when this further advantage is considered, that the wants of our colonists enormously encrease our shipping, navigation, and sailors, and greatly enrich our merchants by the freight of goods to all these western settlements. Thus we increase in riches, by planting a portion of our people, from time to time, in

America; whose posterity, as well as themselves, still call England, and look upon it as their native home. Many go from hence indigent, and return in prosperity; leaving descendants to stay in their stead, with the hopes of one day following the steps of their father.

In respect to population, it is notorious that in America individuals are more prolific than in this country. We have now above two millions of subjects there, who are increasing in proportion, much more speedily than in the mother country; which plainly appears from the yearly poll taxes of the several colonies, and must be obvious to every person that has travelled those vast extensive tracts. There, if an old countryman [an English subject not born in America, and whom they can distinguish at first sight from those that are] happens to pass a wooden barrack, the whole family, excited by curiosity, flocks out; which, in general, is sure to be found as proportionably replenished with young people, as a beehive can be furnished with bees.

Another argument for the encouragement of Englishmen to settle in our plantations is, the vast increase there of Palatines and other foreigners. The disproportion of English families is so great, at present, that our settlements in America have more the appearance of German than British colonies.

I come now to consider that part of the minister's opinion respecting Ireland. That the late disturbances have not their source in a failure of their linen manufacture, occasioned by the migration of the Irish to South-Carolina, is an undoubted truth. The real
cause

cause has been so incontestibly shewn, in several publications in Ireland, and in two or three elaborate letters in the Scotch London Chronicle, that it is altogether needless to repeat it here.

To talk of the Linen-Manufactory being transferred to America, would be arguing strangely in any man; but that the once shining president of the board of trade, the settler of Nova Scotia, the late governor of Ireland, and an adept in the theory of commerce, to reason thus, is wonderful indeed! Even the definitive Mr. Sedgwick, could scarcely discourse upon the matter worse. I am amazed the sagacious Mr. Ellis (I do not mean our secretary at war, for to his sagacity I am an utter stranger) had not informed his Lordship better. That gentleman very well knows the price of labour in the new world, and that no planter there would bestow his own time, or engage others, in the waving of clouts, when they could all be so much more advantageously employed in his farm. No prudent man ever will think of setting up a linen-manufacture in America, whilst the price of labour there so extravagantly exceeds the wages of the weavers in Ireland. That branch can never cut a figure in any of our colonies, till the prices of work are reduced to nearly an equal footing; and as that is not the case now, so it is highly probable that it will not be these five hundred years to come.

At present, in our American colonies, a common labourer may have from two shillings to three shillings per day, according to his application, strength, and abilities; but a weaver, or mechanic of any sort more. In the manufacturing part of the country of

Ireland, the wages of a journeyman-weaver are, from under sixpence to a shilling per day, the utmost. So that a man must be absolutely distracted to endeavour at the establishment of a weaving manufactory in America, whilst he can procure his linen so infinitely cheaper from Europe. I know it may be said, in contradiction to my objections, that weaving is at this time carried on in America. This I allow, but it is nevertheless the effect of necessity, not the work of choice; for scarcely any other are employed in it but invalids.

From what I have said, it must be self-evident that the Mother Country can have nothing to apprehend from the most extensive invitation to her people to settle in her colonies; nor can there be the least fear that the most general encouragement of that sort, could occasion a hurtful migration of our manufacturers in particular. They are chiefly composed of people who have families; the women and children of which are commonly employed in some sort or other in the business of the husband; nor is it reasonable to suppose that men whose calling has given them a comfortable station within doors, will fly to America for a hardy and more laborious employment without.

Nor are the limitations in the proclamation more to be blamed for their impolicy than censured for their partiality; in fact, the last is the consequence of the first, and both, I presume, the effect of the mistaken opinion of the Premier. If we consider that there are no advantages offered to the brave men, their widows and children, that triumphed in the East; nothing to the veterans that conquered in Africa; and no emolument to the heroes who opposed the power of
France

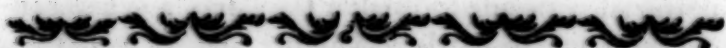
France in Germany; the Earl of Halifax himself, on reflexion, cannot be displeased at the disapprobation of arrangements in which there does not appear an universal gratitude to English Heroism, a general encouragement to Patriotic Valour, and an equal regard to military merit. Even the officers, who, by virtue of the proclamation, are entitled to grants, have many difficulties to encounter. If the business of the public, or his own private concerns, have called the hero home, should he, for that reason, return to America, or be deprived of a purchase made by his sword and his blood? Why was a personal application rendered necessary? Why not allow them to demand by their attorney, an estate which they hold by the Noblest title? For my part I can see no end this measure can possibly answer—unless putting them out of the way of being troublesome, with importunate demands for Arrears.

There is one set of people omitted in these notable allotments much to be pitied. It is notorious that some of the officers, and many of the private men who fell in the service of their country in America, or that have died there since they were disbanded, have left behind them wives and children “now actually residing there,” and yet no provision whatever is made for these unhappy, unfortunate people. This is a circumstance of the most piercing nature, and loudly calls on the humanity of the noble lord, whom I have this day indulged in his own importance, most effectually and immediately to remove.

Upon the whole, whether we examine the opinion which seems to have given rise to the arrangements in the proclamation, or whether we consider the arrangements themselves, there certainly appears
sufficient

sufficient reason to condemn the one, and great room for amendment in the other.

X.



N^o 68.

Thursday, OCTOBER 27.

Being a NORTH BRITON Extraordinary.

"Mark me! — I will a Tale unfold!"

SHAKESPEARE.

THE affair between George Johnstone, Esq; one of the new appointed governors of Florida, and the author of the North Briton No. 62. having transpired, and been represented in some of the papers much to the disadvantage of the latter; he thinks himself under an indispensable necessity of bringing the whole of this extraordinary matter before the tribunal of the public. By their impartial judgment he is willing to abide, and to their uninfluenced verdict he is ready to submit.

On Monday, Sept. 19. Governor Johnstone applied to Mr. Sumpter, the publisher of this paper, to know who was the author of the North Briton of the preceding Saturday, in which his character (as he was pleased to assert) had been grossly and villainously traduced. Mr. Sumpter refused to comply with the request, but promised to acquaint the author, and to call upon Mr. Johnstone in the morning with his answer. The publisher not waiting on the governor directly at the hour of appointment, he received this billet.

✓
" Mr.

“ Mr. Johnstone presents his compliments to Mr. Sumpter, who he expected to have seen in Arundel-street, agreeably to his promise to Mr. Johnstone, that he would wait upon him at nine o'clock and acquaint him * who was the author of the North Briton of last Saturday. This request Mr. Johnstone is once more obliged to repeat, which he hopes, for the sake of English justice and honour, so strenuously recommended in that paper, will not be denied him.—Sept. 20th.”

To this Mr. Sumpter returned a written answer, purporting, that he had seen the author, who ordered him to acquaint Mr. Johnstone, “ That, if he had any objections to make to “ the paper of Sept. 17. and would reduce them to writing, “ he should certainly receive an answer.” In the evening, the publisher received from the governor the following note and letter.

“ To Mr. Sumpter.

“ Mr. Sumpter, in consequence of the letter he sent to Governor Johnstone (which he only just now received) is desired to deliver the inclosed immediately.”

To the Author of the paper entitled the North Briton, of Saturday September 17.

Arundel-street, Sept. 20. 1763.

S I R,

HIS Majesty has been pleased to name me as governor to West Florida. You have been pleased to expose to the public, by the North Briton of Saturday last, some Childish anecdotes, endeavouring

* This Mr. Sumpter denies.

to prove that this choice is incongruous to justice, repugnant to policy, and baneful to liberty. These conclusions are drawn, entirely on consideration of the place of my nativity. As I do not feel any defect from that circumstance, but, on the contrary, am conscious of possessing a perfect good-will to every worthy man, without ever enquiring where he was born, I, therefore, beg the favour you will meet me, to-morrow morning, at six o'clock, in the ring of Hyde-Park, and bring any friend you choose [civil creature!] when I will endeavour to convince you, by arguments best adapted to your sensations, how much you are mistaken in the man you have endeavoured to injure without provocation.

I am,

Your humble Servant,

GEORGE JOHNSTONE.

To prevent any mistake, I shall be dressed in my sea uniform frock.*

To this, the North Briton, with the same laudable view that has given us the first of writers, in Cervantes tho' with the same success (for Scottish errantry, he finds, could scarcely be foiled by the author of Quixote himself) returned the Northern hero the following answer:

To Governor Johnstone.

S I R,

THE North Briton was not honoured with the receipt of Governor Johnstone's letter time enough † to give him the meeting required, even had

* Governor Johnstone, is, also, a Captain in the navy.

† It did not reach the North Briton's hands till four hours after the appointed time.

had he been so disposed ; but, to tell the truth, the mornings are too cold, and the North Briton is too lazy, to rise so early as six ; and besides, he thinks it derogatory to his consequence, as the North Briton, to accept of an invitation, of such a nature, from any person below the dignity of the Earl of B. himself. However, not to rob the Letter-writer of all opportunity of displaying his courage, in support of Scottish "honour and justice," if his lordship will only father the challenge, and depute the Governor as his champion (for which purpose the North Briton thinks it may not be improper to convey to the Thane the epistle received, and demand his answer) and Mr. Dimmock will oblige Mr. Johnstone with his coronation accoutrements, the North Briton may possibly shake off his delicate and indolent "sensations," request the loan of Lord T.'s Rosinante, and break a lance with the Quixote Governor of Western Florida.

I am,

&c. &c. &c.

The North Briton.

P. S. The North Briton is sorry he cannot be equally polite, in leaving it to Mr. Johnstone to bring any friend he shall chuse, with him ; as, for particular reasons, he must insist on the Governor's appointing for his second, in case of an encounter, that pink of Scottish chivalry, the ever renowned and redoubtable hero, Captain Forbes."

Five days elapsing, and Mr. Johnstone taking no farther notice of the affair, the North Briton naturally presumed the intent of this letter had been fully accomplished ; by raising a train of reflections in
the

the governor, that had properly distinguished to him the amazing difference between the phrenical warmth of romantic heroism, and the incumbent resentment of affronted honour : whether Mr. Johnstone, in this case could possibly have the least pretension to the latter, must be left to the readers of the present paper, and that of September the 17th. Be this as it may, the North Briton wrote a letter on the morning of the 27th, in which he undertook to contest the matter with the governor, as with a gentleman who he presumed was then become reformed, cool, and open to conviction. This had not been finished half an hour, before the epistle below (dated and left at Mr. Sumpter's the preceding day) was delivered to the North Briton.

To the author of the paper entitled the North Briton of Saturday, September 17th.

MR. Johnstone was out of town, and did not receive the Letter from the North Briton till yesterday morning. He should not have addressed the author of the paper of Saturday the 17th under that title, knowing what a scoundrel he must be, if Mr. Sumpter had not first assured him that he was a gentleman who would acknowledge his productions to any one who chose privately to question them, and that he would certainly bring his name on Tuesday Morning.* And secondly, upon failing of this, his declaring

* Mr. Sumpter, indeed, promised to wait on Mr. Johnstone to give him an answer, but not to bring the name. It is pleasant enough to observe here how the Governor condemns his own cause. "He should not (he says) have addressed the author of the paper of Saturday, September 17th, under that title" [that

declaring, that tho' the gentleman did not chuse to give up his name, he would receive any message that was sent to him under the title of the author.

These asseverations certainly did deceive Mr. Johnstone, so far as to induce him to write the civil letter which has been construed into a challenge, and given the North Briton his favourite opportunity of reducing the point in issue to a quibbling war of words. Mr. Johnstone freely acknowledges that he merits every ridicule which can be imagined, for believing, during a moment, that any marks of honour or truth, could come from such a Knot of Knaves.

“ But, supposing Mr. Johnstone's letter had really contained a challenge, will the redoubtable author

VOL. III.

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of

“ [that of North Briton] knowing what a scoundrel he must be, if Mr. Sumpter had not first assured him he was a gentleman who would acknowledge his productions.”—What other construction can possibly be put on this sentence than this? The governor, knowing the North Briton to be a gentleman, and knowing the author of the paper of Sep. 17th, to be a scoundrel, he should not have addressed the latter under the title of the North Briton, whom he knew to be a gentleman, unless he had thought him [the writer of the paper of Sep. 17th] a gentleman too. Poor Governor, how he confounds himself! He condemns the North Briton in the lump, on account of one particular paper, and yet acknowledges he does not believe that gentleman to be the actual writer of it; but, on the contrary, some scoundrel, whom the cunning governor thought to entrap out of his real name, by flattering him with the respectable title of the North Briton: And what is still more extraordinary, Mr. Johnstone has addressed this very second letter, exactly the same as the first, notwithstanding he condemns himself in this, for addressing the other as he did!

of the North Briton, who professes himself the champion of the mob * of England (and claims every other quality which pen, ink, impudence and paper can enumerate †) meet no man unless rattling in the other champion's accoutrements? That so like two mock doctors they may compound for qualities they neither possess, and then perform a farce and feasting match before the public ‡.—Can nothing less than such an assurance of innocence bring this hero to the field? It is certainly the surest security from danger, since every other appearance is deceitful; for we are told of a third champion who spit in a gentleman's hat of a contrary feature, in hopes of establishing his prowess, but was afterwards forced to ask pardon in the most humiliating manner.

“ Mr. Johnstone does not propose breaking any lance with such an antagonist, but he proposes breaking a cudgel over his pate, as soon as ever he receives information of his name. He regards him
at

* The Governor, in his letter, had first written people of England; but perceiving he had unluckily strayed into a truth which has long reflected no little honour on the North Briton, his Excellency, stung to the quick at his involuntary mistake, run his pen through the word, and insolently dignified the People of England with the name of the Mob.

† This certainly must mean the governor's pen, ink, impudence and paper, as he was that moment before enumerating one of the North Briton's qualities, that of being champion of the Mob of England.

‡ As to the performing of a feasting match before the public, with this gentleman, the North Briton does acknowledge his “wonderful lack” of courage in that respect; he is convinced he cannot be voracious enough to stand any chance with a man born and bred so near the *Cave of Famine*.

at present like a monkey which he saw in the Island of Jamaica, who was accustomed to do all the mischief he could to innocent visitors, and whenever he was pursued, he used to hide himself among the leaves and branches of a large tamarind tree (something like the shape and figure of a Chief Justice's Periwig) and so continued to laugh and chatter at their vexation: At length a furly sailor, not accustomed to such teasing sport, snatched up a musket, and happening to get a vizzie, he shot the poor monkey, with the grin on his face, to the no small mortification of all his admirers.

Sep. 26."

The North Briton's opinion of Mr. Johnstone's conversion being, now, entirely vanished, and the letter he had written, on that mistaken presumption, rendered (in a manner) useless, he determined to return an answer more agreeable to the governor's own [preceding] most ingenious epistle. In this answer, however, he thought it not utterly improper to inclose the other; for, notwithstanding he had found his antagonist altogether incorrigible, he was, nevertheless, desirous that he should not continue a stranger to the North Briton's alacrity to defend whatever he advanced, and his readiness to account for his behaviour, to every man who appeared to be in his senses, though he did not think himself answerable to any one whose actions demonstrated him to be absolutely out of them. The following is the North Briton's reply to the above.

To Governor JOHNSTONE.

S I R,

YOURS of the 26th, I received, and cannot help exclaiming with Lady Townly in the play,

“ Psha! my dear Scot, now you have spoiled all again!” How could you, Governor, be so cruel as to make me throw away all the fine things I had intended you in the letter inclosed? the affair stands thus: Not hearing from you a week (a tedious long week!) after my answer to your “civil” epistle, I was really vain enough to think that I had worked a reformation, and brought you to reflect on the consequences of not maturely weighing the meaning of an author, of the folly of a hastiness of disposition, and the ridiculous figure you had rendered yourself, in indulging your unwarrantable warmth on such a trifling occasion; or, to come nearer the truth, on no occasion at all. On this mistaken supposition I had written a letter more “adapted to the sensations” of a man in his senses, and was reading it to a friend, whose opinion I can trust, the instant your second favour reached my hands. I own I was not a little provoked at the disappointment; but, however, as it is ready written, pray take it; perhaps, my dear Governor, it may give your excellencyship a little remorse of conscience; or (as that is not very common to a Scotchman) at the worst, the mortification that you have now lost “your favourite opportunity of reducing the point in issue to a” Forbes-like war of the field. Come, come, man, cheer up; we are equally unfortunate; you have missed your duel, I my proselyte. But prithee, now, why did you not answer my letter sooner?—You was out of town, you say, and did not receive it till the 26th, though delivered at your house on the 21st. I must consider this matter a little. Faith I begin to doubt (entre nous) whether a Hyde Park encounter was your real desire. Hum! let me see! A gentleman imagines his character attacked in a public paper on the 17th,

writes

writes a challenge to the author on the evening of the 20th; appoints a meeting the very next morning at fix; not being met (for I will have the charity to suppose he was there) as appointed, returns in a violent hurry to the publisher at noon; is told the party did not receive it till after the time; insists upon an answer directly; is assured he will certainly have one that day; orders his equipage home; the letter is absolutely sent that very afternoon; and yet, in so very critical a situation, this passionate, injured gentleman, so tenacious of his honour, and so hot for an answer, goes coolly out of town, and does not return till five days after! Indeed, Mr. Johnstone, this tale hangs but clumsily together. Shall I be plain with you? The sending a letter to the publisher's so very late at night, and appointing the meeting so early on the succeeding morning, does look something like a wish of its not coming to the hands of the challenged party in time: And then going out of town the very afternoon the answer was expected, and staying there five days, what, sir, does that look like? Why, the fear of an appointment for the next ensuing day.—Pray, your Excellency, solicit the ministry to nominate Captain Forbes (and I think you are Captain too) to be your deputy governor. What a blessed pair of Captains!—First challenge, and then run out of the way.

“ Well, but who, my good sir, are these knots of knaves? Of what country can those people be who are so destitute of honour and truth, as to render you liable to the severest ridicule, for believing, “ during a moment,” that those virtues could possibly exist in them? Indeed, Mr. Governor, you should learn to be a little more explicit. If I had not been

endued with a tolerable memory, I had remained in the dark to this moment. A knot of knaves! I ken your meaning weel. I do remember having read a comedy, written and published in the year 1652, by Mr. John Tateham, city poet in the reign of Charles the first, called the Scotch Vagaries, or a Knot of Knaves; and a knot of knaves, indeed, he has made them!—Perhaps you recollected the title of the play without any of its contents. Shall I give you a specimen or two?

A C T I. S C E N E I.

Enter JOCKEY with his wallet.

Jock. **A** Sirs! this ayr has a mickle gued favour. I ha creeped thus far intol the kingdom [England] like an ervigg intol a man's lug; and sal hardly be gat oot. I a Scot thief may pass for a trow mon here. Aw the gued fare I get here! By me saw, ise twa yards gron aboot, sin I cam fro Scotlond. The Deel split me, gif I come at the mure, Scotlond. Ise, noo, nie the bonny court, wur monny a Scot lod is gron fro a maggot to a bran goose. In the Deel's name wha's yon? A fud be me contremon by's scrattin and scrubbin. A lookes like Scotland it sell, bar an naked!

Enter BILLY.

Ah mon, what gar thee in these pickles? How camst hither?

Billy. E'en on my ten toes, Sir. A lack, a mon mo not steel, here, for's neck; an ise mickle sham to bag.

Jock.

Jack. How, mon, not bag! On's th'art nen a me contremen than!

Billy. Geud faith, an I have not eat an morsel these twa daies.

Jack. Weel set doone.——Leuke thee here mon [opens his wallet] d'yee think St. Andra wad a fasted so mickle, gif a cood a get fike met as thes. A me St. Andra had never don so many marvailles, giff he cood a stufit his carcase with fike as this.

Enter a COURTIER.

Here, Mr. Governor, they both rise up and beg of the Courtier; who, after hearing a long Canterbury story of pretended losses, and their rank in their own country, relieves them, saying,

Court. There [giving money to Billy]—There's some of your countrymen at court live better by this trade than you do. There is no beggar like your Scotch beggar, for tricks and impudence. There [giving to the other] that will serve to buy you oatmeal. [Exit.

Jack. A gued beginning, mon. Tool'd a ye noot sum of oor contremen lieved at Court by baggin?

Billy. I see noow a Scot may lie by authoritie, and bag by permission. Weele to court too, and lie sa fest as tha beeft o'um.

Jack. Be me saw an that's hard to de. Seest thou yon braw fellow [looking out] he's tha King's Feul. Gued Faith he's ta hard for twanty o'um. A has feul'd

feul'd himsel intol mickle favour, gif he feul himsel noot oout agen.

“ As this may suffice, Sir, to give you some idea of the spirit of the piece, and the character of the favourite fool, it will be needless to transcribe any more of it. I could wish, however, that some book-seller would reprint the whole play, as your countrymen might, perhaps, reap both entertainment and advantage from the perusal of it.

“ But what do you mean, Governor, by saying “ supposing Mr. Johnstone’s letter had really contained a challenge.” I beg, sir, as Mr. Bayes has it, I may have none of your supposes, and all that. Psha! man, renounce all the paltry evasions and equivocations of the North. Does your subsequent behaviour make you desirous that it may not be construed into a challenge? There is not a person in the Kingdom, from a boy of ten years of age up to a Lord Chief Justice (though I do not mean to shield myself behind his periwig) could possibly give it any other construction. Now I am mentioning the periwig, “ pray give my service to your monkey.” Come, I will try at an explanation of your ingenious allegory. The island of Jamaica, I take to mean England; the innocent visitors, the Scotch; the sailor, your Excellency; the monkey, myself; and the Tamarind tree, one of our Lord Chief Justices; but whether your countryman of the K’s. B. or mine of the C. P. I know not; but, from particular circumstances, I must believe the latter. Indeed, Governor, a very pretty figurative story this? What a pity is it that you did not thoroughly consider the moral!—The Scotch, poor innocent visitors!

visitors! come to England, "to soak up, as Hamlet expresses himself, the king's countenance," and the mischievous North Briton writes against their encroachments, plays tricks, puts them in a fret, and then laughs and chatters at their vexation. One of these innocent visitors (a noble Thane whom he had laughed into a fume) being determined to crush him with the Herculean arm of power, illegally and rancorously pursues him with that arbitrary and revengeful intent. The North Briton flies for refuge to the Lord Chief Justice of the C. P. and his Lordship shields him from the fury of the Scot.—So far, so good.—Now will you, Mr. Johnstone, take upon you to say that the Judge diverted the course of Justice in that protection?—Surely, No!—And if he did not (the North Briton being "in a right cause, and having the law of his side") what a Rascal must he be who would "snatch up a musket, take a vizzie," and "to the no small mortification of all his admirers," shoot the man* whom a spirited honest Lord Chief Justice had protected from an illegal and tyrannical pursuit!—Pray, Sir, have I not unravelled your allegory pretty tolerably? and what does your excellency think of your stroke at the periwig now?

I am,

Oct. 3, 1763.

&c. &c. &c.

THE NORTH BRITON.

* It is pretty apparent, by several expressions in the Governor's letters, but especially his sarcastic comparison of the Tamarind tree to a Lord Chief Justice's

P. S. The North Briton, though he has not been out of town, could not answer Mr. Johnstone's sooner; the writing of last Saturday's, Paper and other important business, having interfered: Nor, could the North Briton, as circumstances flood, after receiving Mr. Johnstone's second letter, send the first written epistle (now inclosed) without being accompanied with the present one, which Mr. Johnstone must easily perceive."

The North Briton does not doubt but the familiarity with which the governor is treated in the foregoing letter, will plead its own excuse, as truly conformable to the civility and politeness of expression in that of Mr. Johnstone's, to which it is an answer. — The letter which the North Briton wrote on the merits of a supposed reformation in his Excellency (prior to the receipt of the governor's second "civil" epistle) and which he inclosed in the above, was as follows:

" To Governor JOHNSTONE.

S I R,

IN this age of vanity and perverseness, when so few (so very few indeed!) are to be convinced of an error, the North Briton cannot but congratulate Mr. Johnstone on his manifesting such an amiable as well as uncommon virtue; and as the answer to the Governor's

tice's periwig, that he aimed his resentment at a particular gentleman, which, therefore, sufficiently justifies so personal an explanation here, of Mr. Johnstone's curious allegory.

vernor's challenge (if his subsequent conduct * will be admitted a proper criterion to judge by) has had the intended effect of laughing him out of a romantic passion for duelling, the North Briton will argue the matter with him, as with a gentleman who is now not altogether destitute of sense and reason. If Mr Johnstone had perused those papers, to which he seems so professed an enemy, with an unprejudiced attention, the ridiculous appointment at the ring of Hyde Park, could never have entered into his imagination; as he would have perceived, that the author had not any where attempted to advance so unjust and silly an argument, or even endeavoured to insinuate that Scotland produced no men of worth. The whole of the North Briton's animadversions, respecting the Scots, have been confined entirely to the principles of Scotchmen in general, by proving them to be evidently repugnant to the sentiments of the English; and that the nature of their education, under laws so exceedingly opposite to the generous spirit of an English constitution, renders them very unfit to preside over English affairs. These things considered, Mr. Johnstone must be convinced that the tenour of the paper in dispute, was not to call in question his honour and integrity as an individual; but, by shewing the method of executing the laws in Scotland, and the partiality of appointing none but Scotchmen to the government of all our ceded acquisitions, that it was calculated purely to expose the extreme impolicy of the one, and the great injustice of the other.

“ The North Briton would ask two or three plain questions. If these appointments are really so conformable

* His silence.

formable to true policy, and so consonant to strict impartiality, as Mr. Johnstone would be thought to believe them, why have they not been notified, in the usual form, by authority? * Did not a noble earl, yet in one of the first offices of state (the only man of real abilities amongst the present ministerial herd) take the highest umbrage at the all-encroaching patron of the Scots, for bringing those very appointments about? And has not, for that very reason, the intended nomination of some particular Scotchmen to places of trust and profit in Florida (consisting of at least four-fifths out of the whole of the posts to be held there under the crown) been laid aside? These flagrant proceedings, though they are endeavoured to be screened from the world, are no secrets to the North Briton; nor can they, indeed, be new to Mr. Johnstone, as, it is presumed, he must be personally acquainted with some of his unfortunate countrymen, who have been thus unexpectedly disappointed of preferment.

“ Mr. Johnstone says that the conclusions in the North Briton, are drawn entirely on consideration of the place of his nativity, and that he does not feel any defect from that circumstance. The North Briton does acknowledge that they were drawn entirely on account of the place of his birth; but

* This Letter was sent to Mr. Johnstone, five days before the impartial appointment of the Scotch governors appeared in the Gazette; and as the notice was given so immediately after the North Briton's letter to the governor, the public must judge whether it had any influence in hurrying on a notification, that had been kept back some months after the royal nomination had been made.

but surely this very observation must exculpate him from any intention of personally affronting Mr. Johnstone? The man, as Mr. Johnstone, was no ways considered: That, indeed, was utterly impossible, for he was a perfect stranger to the writer, as well in character as in person. The place of his nativity was alone the object of the North Briton's consideration, and on that account alone he condemned the appointments to the government of Florida; for they appeared to him not more unjustifiably partial in respect to the superior rights of the English, than highly impolitic in regard to the arrogant and absolute temper of the Scots, in general, wherever they have the power to safely exert it. So far is the North Briton from having any personal enmity to Mr. Johnstone, that he shall not only be pleased to find, hereafter, his fears of a Scottish administration in Florida are rendered abortive, by the amiable behaviour of its governors, but ("as having a perfect good will to every worthy man") shall be the first to propagate the wonder! to trumpet to the world the great deserts of men, who, by their actions, so meritoriously detest the despotic principles of their imperious countrymen: But till the North Briton's apprehensions are dispelled, by this happy [strange] event (and Mr. Johnstone cannot wish for it more ardently than he does) he must still consider every suspicion contained in his paper of September 17th, as warrantably founded; and even then, though the apprehended danger of the appointments will be removed, the scandalous partiality of them never will. It is true the nature of an English government will not suffer the open exercise of such enormous irregularities as are quoted in Numb. 62: Nor, indeed, are the governors of our colonies the immediate dis-

pensers of the law, but when the North Briton reflected on the extensive power they possess; their influence over all who are below them in office; the propensity of Scotchmen, in general, to tyranny; the distance of Florida from hence; the difficulty attending application to England for relief; and the ignorance of the inhabitants (who are strangers to our constitution) of the proper methods of seeking redress; there certainly did (and yet does) appear to him the highest imprudence, to say no worse of it, in subjecting the Floridans to a Scottish administration.

“ Mr. Johnstone is pleased to call the anecdotes in the North Briton of Sep. 17th, “ childish ones.” In the name of law and equity can they be childish anecdotes that shew, by notorious instances, all undoubted facts, that judges in Scotland, admit of the disputants at law canvassing amongst them [the judges] for their favour (for in civil causes they have no juries) in as open a manner as candidates do in England for a Borough! Is it a childish anecdote that judges there condescend to become chamber council in private, and when a cause affects themselves, that they pervert, by the most fallacious reasonings, the letter of the law, to serve their own particular interests! Is it a childish anecdote to give an instance of a man’s committing in Scotland, within these dozen years, a no less capital crime than High-Treason [coining] and a Scotch judge’s accepting (I should have said demanding) several hundred pounds, the delinquent’s all! to screen him from justice, and then humanely obliging him to fly abroad! Is it a childish anecdote to make appear, by quotations, that the very proverbs of the Scots, are calculated to “ inspire the middling and inferior part of the
the

the people with the notion that nothing but loss and disappointment is to be met with in contending for right, even in the plainest case, with a person in a superior station!"—Chickish anecdotes! The North Briton is apprehensive that the favourable sentiments the public may have entertained of Mr. Johnstone (and it is to be hoped they have formed some good opinion of him) would not be greatly increased, if they were acquainted with his having made use of an expression, which even the North Briton cannot persuade himself can possibly be Mr. Johnstone's real opinion.

"But now a word or two concerning the Challenge. Does Mr. Johnstone think, can he possibly suppose, that the author of a paper is to declare himself to every person who imagines himself, or pretends to be injured by him? What would be the consequence of such a ready acquiescence? He might be liable to be invited out of his bed every morning, by any impertinent coxcomb who chose to form a pretence of being injured, only to satisfy an idle curiosity of knowing who he was. An expression might now and then, unguardedly, slip from his pen, which though a truth, a most notorious one! might render him criminal in the eye of the law; in this case, the party so justly exposed, has nothing to do but dispatch a challenge at night, and give instructions to a pettyfogging attorney (for no gentleman of the profession will be seen in such sort of legal prosecutions) to reconnoitre the party in the morning, and if he knows not his person and name, to betray him, by an unsuspected conference, into a confession. Besides, when the writer of a periodical essay once avows himself, his authority, if the North Briton may so say, is at an end. The Essayists in the reign

of Queen Anne and George the First, as well political ones as others, were so fully convinced of this position, that (one or two excepted) during the time of the publication of their pieces, they were never absolutely known as the authors. It is true, many of them were suspected, but whilst they did not acknowledge the charge, the suspicion of the public could not amount to a proof. The North Briton will beg to shew the ill consequence of a writer's avowing himself, by a case in point.—The English Linnæus! the learned acquaintance, the simple-culling friend, the botanical companion of the Earl of Bute! The Rock of Rocks! the king of quacks! the emperor of empirics! the great, the celebrated, the easy, the ambling, the sauntering, the simpering, the polite, Dr. J—H—, published, some years since, a periodical paper called the Inspector. The Critics were extremely perplexed to find out the author; for, till that discovery was made, they did not, in fact, know how to proceed; whether to approve or condemn: However, their endeavours were fruitless, and the Inspector, amongst the generality of other readers, was well received. This evidence of its merit (for the Proteus, * to borrow my friend Churchill's expressive epithet, is not absolutely destitute of literary talents) instead of promoting the circulation of the paper, brought on its final dissolution. “Give me, boy, (cries one at the Bedford) the Inspector.—It is an excellent one to day (says another) I assure you it is always so, returns a third. This was too much to withstand—the author was by—his discretion fell a victim to his vanity—he openly declared himself—and, O dire catastrophe!

* “The Proteus H— put in his modest plea.”

catastrophe! — the Inspector was read no more. H — avowed his paper and forfeited his power. The step was dangerous. “ Knowing all, himself unknown ” is the main pillar of a periodical writer ; “ The antients (to be indebted for a phrase or two to the Doctor’s medical advertisements) in Anne and George’s reign “ Knew this, and the North Briton “ has restored the practice. There is more room “ for this caution than good men would think.

“ The North Briton has but two observations more to make, in regard to the Challenge, and he must think them very strong ones. Does Mr. Johnstone believe that man a proper person to have the supreme command of a colony, who, on the most frivolous occasion, is so ready to burst through the laws of the mother country? and does he think if his Majesty or the Earl of Hallifax, were informed of his sentiments and behaviour, in this affair, he would, nevertheless, be continued governor of Western Florida?

“ Though “ Mr. Johnstone does not feel any “ defect from the circumstance of his being born in “ Scotland,” yet it is not doubted but his impartiality will now admit the reasonableness of the North Briton’s objections to a Scottish government in Florida; and that, consequently, he will allow of the impropriety of sending a Challenge, on that account, even had he known, and been able to prove, who was the very person that wrote the paper of September 17th.

“ Upon the whole, if Mr Johnstone is not now convinced that the writer had no personal enmity to him, and yet thinks himself aggrieved, the author of

Number 62, on a solemn assurance that the real name of the party shall never be divulged, is ready to give him the satisfaction he requires, wherever and whenever he pleases.

I am, &c. &c.

September 27.

The NORTH BRITON.*

General Observations upon the whole.

FROM the publication of the foregoing letters, the behaviour of Governor Johnstone must appear in a very extraordinary light to the world, and as in this account there is no intention of treating the character of that gentleman with the least asperity, we shall trespass a little longer on the reader's patience, to shew from the concurrent testimony of truth and the plain determination of common sense, how egregiously wrong he has acted in the whole affair.

In the first place, Mr. Johnstone conceived himself injured on account of the fault found with the nomination of four Scotch gentlemen to the government of our new acquisitions in America: But had he given himself the least time for coolly considering the North Briton's strictures on that subject, a man of his understanding must have naturally perceived that no personal insult was offered, or intended to be offered, to him or any of the other Governors. Mr. Johnstone, and every gentleman, has a right to advance his fortune by all the laudable means in his power, and it could never enter into the North Briton's head to find fault with him for pursuing so salutary an end. His censures were entirely confined to the administration for the partiality and impropriety of the choice, and no way designed to affect the persons who accepted

accepted of the posts. The North Briton, by the most distant insinuation, dropt no doubt, in the paper of Sept. 17th, of either their integrity or understanding; his only fear proceeded from the place of their birth, and the different sentiments which that circumstance must undoubtedly create in relation to the principles of government and laws. This fear, at first sight, may appear weak and frivolous, but on a just consideration must be allowed of no little weight: For if a Scotchman and an Englishman entertain the same notions of government, whence is it that the constitution of their respective countries differ so very wide?—Whence is it, we on this side the Tweed are such zealous assertors of freedom and independance, and they on the other such slavish abettors of tyranny and arbitrary power? A Scotchman would make a good governor enough, perhaps, of Scotchmen, but he that would preside over Englishmen must have some regard and reverence for their laws. That Governor Johnstone had no regard, or at least no idea of them, his inconsiderate challenge sufficiently testifies, and is, of itself, the greatest support of the assertions in that very North Briton at which he has taken so violent an offence—Is it not an ample justification of the North Briton's fears, and does it not take away the cause of any supposed affront, since it proves the little acquaintance which a Scotchman, though a gentleman and a man of education, has of our constitution? Or what is worse, the little regard he entertains for it if he has! This was all the North Briton took upon him to assert, and has not the behaviour of Mr. Johnstone incon- testibly shewn him in the right?—Hence Mr. Johnstone must undoubtedly be reckoned the aggressor; as there was no personal reflection on him as an individual,

vidual, and as he has been kind enough to prove those animadversions on his country to be dispassionately just.—Thus much for the ground of the altercation; and now to take a little notice of the manner in which it was carried on.

Mr. Johnstone may perhaps endeavour to palliate the rashness of his conduct, in sending a challenge, by saying, that, tho' he himself was not directly reflected upon, yet his country was, and therefore he had reason, even from that, to call the North Briton to an account. 'Tis a pity, however, that he took no other method, but what he so greatly condemn'd; for in one of his notes to Mr. Sumpter, he has a stroke at the "honour and justice" of the English, in return for the freedoms, which I may have taken with the Scotch. If he means the honour and justice of our administration, he has my hearty leave, to attack either as often as he thinks proper, tho', in reality, I think there can be no greater reflection on both, than Mr. Johnstone himself. And, surely, the elegant epithets of scoundrel and knot of knaves, with which he so obligingly honoured the person or persons concerned in the North Briton, will be thought at least a sufficient excuse for the rascal, which is applied to the sailor in the exposition of his sensible allegory.

In fact, the readers of this day's paper will perceive, that both Mr. Johnstone and the North Briton have exceeded the bounds of decency in some of their expressions, and more than once conversed in a language, much fitter for the meridian of a Billingsgate assembly, than the ears of a drawing room,—but as Lear says,

"Not to be the worst is some degree of merit,"

the

the latter will, therefore, take what advantage he can, of this negative perfection, and plead Mr. Johnstone's assumption of the Marybone Drawcanfir, as an extenuation for his own error, in dropping the gentleman.—The North Briton is not incorrigible in this respect, he pleads guilty to the indictment, and throws himself upon the mercy of his readers.

It had been well too, in another respect, if Mr. Johnstone, before he sent his challenge, had demanded a proper explanation from the North Briton of those passages, which he thought so necessary to resent, and enquire the author's reasons for the paper in question, before he proceeded to call him thus roundly to an account.—Had he taken this step, and then received no satisfactory answer, there might be some foundation for his resentment, tho' no excuse could be found for the manner in which that resentment was expressed.

In all political broils, or literary squabbles, where countries or professions may chance to be introduced, Mr. Johnstone himself, if not possessed with the Demon of Quixotism, must be convinced, that general observations are never intended, and but rarely understood, as personal affronts. How often have the gentlemen of the law been indiscriminately stiled, to borrow Mr. Johnstone's borrowed expression, a knot of knaves? and yet no individual of the profession ever demanded satisfaction for so virulent a reproach upon them all.

Countries, like professions, when condemn'd for any crimes, or censured for any peculiarities, are not to be vindicated by individuals, or justified in a rational debate by a private sword. The advocate
for

for any nation, in such a case, instead of making a parade of his courage, ought to convince us of his understanding; for his life is but hazarded in vain, unless he can wipe off the imputations which have lain upon the kingdom he so strenuously offers to defend. The North Briton would be glad to know, had he indulg'd Mr. Johnstone with the meeting which he was kind enough to request, and had the happiness either to give or take a poke in the guts, how the event would have terminated the matter in dispute? Would the death of one or both, in the least, prove the propriety, or impropriety of nominating four Scotch gentlemen to the government of our new acquired territories in America, when so many English and Irish, of the most approved reputation and abilities, deserved at least an equal, if not a superior, attention from the ministry?—If Mr. Johnstone can make it appear that the interview propos'd, would have answered any one salutary end to the people of England, the North Briton will declare his concern for not instantly attending him the moment he received his invitation, and promises to be an hour before his time at any second one, which he may think proper to honour him with. Alas, the North Briton imagines Mr. Johnstone knew too well the necessity he was under of keeping himself conceal'd, tho' the author of that paper is nevertheless generous enough to suppose that Mr. Johnstone's challenge would have been sent, had the governor been never so great a stranger to that circumstance, and the arguments which the North Briton used in his letter of September 27, are so extremely obvious, that it is paying but a bad, a very bad compliment to Mr.

Mr. Johnstone's understanding, to suppose he has not been long since convinc'd, if he has honour'd them with ever so slight a perusal.

Upon the whole, the North Briton, tho' he flatters himself (and perhaps 'tis no more than flattery) with an opinion that he is not utterly destitute of common spirit or resentment, is not however weak enough to imagine that he is under an obligation of fighting with every person who may think himself injured, during the course of his remarks. 'Tis but natural for him to suppose, that the part he has hitherto acted, has created a number of enemies, greatly soever as it may have encreased the circle of his friends; besides which, he really looks upon the whole Scotch nation as antagonists much too powerful for a single man, and has a greater regard for his ease, than to be continually exposed to the malice or impertinence of every gentleman with a bare backside, who is ambitious of rising in the esteem of the ministry, or desirous of gaining the favour of the court. An author, at this rate, would have a blessed time of it, especially a political one; for, as Sir Archy says, in *Love-Alamode*,

“ There is no standing before a highlander's Andrew Ferrara.”

And it would be rather disagreeable to have a whole clan to encounter every morning, unless in the manner of Captain Bobadil, a method could be found of dispatching them by twenties, till they were entirely cut off.—

The North Briton will now take his leave of Mr. Johnstone, and wish him all happiness in the enjoyment of his government, so long as he retains a veneration for the constitution, and exerts his abilities for the welfare of those poor people committed to his trust. If in the discharge of his office, the least advantageous account should transpire, 'twill give the North Briton a pleasure to proclaim it to the world; but if on the contrary, there should be a foundation for disagreeable reports, those reports shall soon reach the ears of the public, and ring about the*****.

One word of advice, let him, however, listen to, and never suffer a wild impetuosity of temper to rise against the secret conviction of Truth. Strong as the love of his country may be, let his love of justice be still stronger. 'Tis not always he may have an adversary who is obliged to lie concealed, and perhaps 'tis not a little fortunate for him that in the present case his challenge was directed to an author, under the disagreeable necessity of suppressing his indignation as a man.

End of the THIRD VOLUME.



